9:15 a.m. Writer Sergeant Shaft places ashes of Robert McNamara’s book at Vietnam Memorial.

11:00 a.m. The President addresses Memorial Day Service. Arlington National Cemetery.


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TV News Headlines
Wire Reports
New York Times
Washington Post
Los Angeles Times
Washington Times
Chicago Tribune
Knight-Ridder
Boston Globe
Baltimore Sun
Newsday

Note: No holiday editions of the Wall Street Journal or USA Today.
ABC WORLD NEWS SUNDAY

2. President Clinton may send amphibious unit to Bosnia.
3. Earthquake in Russia leaves 2,000 people buried.
4. HUD takes over Chicago public housing.
5. Levees are holding in Illinois and Missouri floods.
6. Harvard student stabs roommate and hangs herself.
7. New poll shows 60 percent of Americans think O.J. is guilty.
8. Forensic science may not be entirely reliable.
10. Skin cancer from sun exposure is on the rise.
11. Canadian driver is first Canadian to win Indy 500.
12. Tigers and White Sox set home run record.
13. Jeff Greenfield comments on celebrity journalists' troubles.

CBS EVENING NEWS

1. NATO powers will meet to discuss situation in Bosnia.
2. Warren Christopher will attend NATO meeting.
3. Russian earthquake is 7.6 on the Richter Scale.
4. Harvard University student kills roommate and herself.
5. Recklessness, inexperience cause teen driving deaths.
7. Chinese refugees try to get asylum in United States.
8. AT&T negotiators continue talks with unions.
9. Flooding continues along Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.
10. Joe Klein comments on the Bosnian situation.
11. Canadian driver wins the Indianapolis 500.
12. Bosnian film wins at Cannes Film Festival.
13. Plenty of action movies are ready for summer season.

NBC EVENING NEWS

Not Available
Secretary of State Christopher is heading to Europe for a meeting with America's allies on the situation in Bosnia. With United Nations peacekeepers being held as hostages by Serbian forces, diplomats are trying to decide how to respond.

Talks between negotiators for AT&T and representatives for two trade unions haved ended for the night and will resume this morning. Company spokesman Herb Linnen says some progress has been made, but key issues, such as wages and health care benefits for retirees, still need to be resolved.

Police in Cambridge, Massachusetts, say a brutal stabbing spree at a Harvard University dormitory resulted in the deaths of two students and left another injured.

The Pakistani suspected of engineering the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center of New York reportedly had been plotting an even more spectacular attack that would have blown up 11 U.S. airliners in a single day as they traveled over the Pacific Ocean.

The Los Angeles Times said computer records showed Ramzi Ahmed Yousef had been arranging for five Muslim terrorists to plant virtually undetectable bombs aboard the 11 jumbo jets.

Flood relief efforts along the rain-swollen Illinois River were hampered this weekend by tornadoes that struck near the town of Meredosia. Three inches of rain pelted the area as a workforce composed of volunteers, prisoners and state employees raced to shore up a levee before the river crests on Thursday.

160 people are dead and 1,700 remain buried beneath the rubble of a small Russian town destroyed by a strong earthquake. The quake hit on Russia's Pacific coast.

Actor Christopher Reeves, best known for his role as Superman, is hospitalized at the University of Virginia Medical Center after he fell off a horse. His publicist says he is in a stable condition. It is not known how long he will remain in the hospital.

The vast majority of Americans favor the establishment of a federal bioethics commission. Pollsters project that most Americans believe such a governmental body is needed to protect the individual's right to privacy, as genetic testing becomes more prevalent.

The opening of kid-comedy "Casper" scared up an impressive $16 million to secure the top spot at the nation's box offices during the first three days of the Memorial Day weekend. Other top films were "Die Hard With a Vengeance" and "Crimson Tide."

By Diane Kepley (UPI)
Copter Downed — 33 Britons Are Seized

By ROGER COHEN

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, May 28 — Bosnia's Foreign Minister was killed today, and the Bosnian Serbs stepped up their humiliation of the United Nations by adding 33 British soldiers to a long list of hostages.

Mr. Ljubijankic, the Bosnian Foreign Minister, died when his helicopter was shot down by Serb forces near the town of Cetinjack in Serbian-occupied Croatia, Government officials said. The United Nations said the helicopter had been downed by a missile apparently fired from Serb-held territory.

Croatian Serb forces said they had shot down the helicopter, a Croatian Serb news agency reported.

Mr. Ljubijankic, 43, was one of three co-presidents of the governing Democratic Action. He was traveling early today from his native Bihac to Zagreb, the Croatian capital, when the helicopter was downed about a mile from the Bosnian border.

His death came as separatist Serb forces, apparently emboldened from the Bosnian border. "The Bosnian Serb Army is behaving like a terrorist organization," said Alexander Ivanko, a United Nations spokesman. It was the first time that the United Nations had referred to the Bosnian Serbs as terrorists, but this did not alter the fact that the Serbs have apparently seized the political and military initiative.

The capture of the British troops amounted to a particularly sharp challenge to Western governments by the Serbs, who have stepped up aggression rather than compliance to NATO's attempt to stop Serbian shelling of Sarajevo through the use of limited force.

The Serbs are now defying the two largest contributors of troops to the peacekeeping force — Britain and France. More than 150 French troops are already being held as hostages or human shields in an attempt — successful so far — to deter further NATO military action. Eight Canadian soldiers were also detained today near the town of Iljias, northwest of Sarajevo.

NATO planes swooped over a cloudy Sarajevo today and nearby Pale, drawing anti-aircraft fire from the Serbs. But the NATO aircraft did not attack.

Foreign ministers of the European Union are to meet in Brussels on Monday, and NATO foreign ministers in the Netherlands on Tuesday. It appeared unlikely that a decision on any further NATO air attacks would be taken until after these meetings.

In the beleaguered Bosnian capital, whose streets have emptied since shelling of the city resumed last month, the commander of United Nations troops in Bosnia, Liet. Gen. Rupert Smith, today awaited political instructions on whether to attempt negotiation or use further force to try to free the hostages.

"We have no problem with going either way — escalating or backing down — but we need some clear word," an official close to the general said.

General Smith, a British officer, spoke for a half hour today to Gen. Ratko Mladic, the commander of the Bosnian Serbs, and found him deeply irrational, the official added. General Mladic accused General Smith of attempting to legitimize the Serbs as anything other than a ragged, largely futile force.

The clash started when Serbs disrupted a peacekeeping force — being fired at regularly with heavy machine guns and mortars.

The worst single shelling incident of the war, in which 71 people were killed in the northeastern town of Tuzla on Thursday night, was followed today by further Serbian shelling of the town. One person was killed and two wounded on a day when many mourners were in the streets attending funerals of those killed last week.

Mr. Ljubijankic, the Bosnian Foreign Minister, became the second high-ranking member of the Government killed since the Bosnian war began in 1992. In January 1993, Hajja Turaljic, the Deputy Prime Minister, was killed while supposedly under the protection of French peacekeepers near Sarajevo's airport.

The downing of the helicopter today also killed Izet Muhamedagic, 57, the Deputy Prime Minister, and four other people, the Bosnian Government said.

Clandestine nocturnal helicopter flights between the Muslim enclave of Bihac and Zagreb have been going on for many months. They are widely used to resupply the isolated enclave with weapons. Technically, the flights are in breach of the NATO-enforced no-flight zone over Bosnia, but NATO has tended to turn a blind eye to them.

"General Mladic demanded an apology for the death of the Serbian soldiers, which of course General Smith was not prepared to give," the official said. "General Mladic seemed unable to grasp that the Serbs initiated the battle."
FRANCE ON BOSNIA: BEEF UP OR LEAVE

Seeks Deal to Augment U.N. Force and Alter Mandate

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY

PARIS, May 28 — Prime Minister Alain Juppé said tonight that France would press for withdrawal of the United Nations peacekeeping forces from Bosnia unless NATO and the United Nations agreed in the next few days to send them reinforcements.

He also repeated a call by President Jacques Chirac on Saturday for deployment of troops to Bosnia as soldiers and said it was increasing its efforts if France is to keep its 3,800 soldiers in Bosnia, which both men say is what they really want.

As Bosnian Serb forces took more peacekeepers hostage today, including 33 British troops, Mr. Juppé said both the mission of the United Nations force and its deployment at scattered and poorly defensible sites around the country urgently needed to be changed.

The British Government issued a statement saying that it "utterly condemned" the seizure of its soldiers and said it was increasing its deployment of troops to Bosnia as soon as possible.

In Washington, Clinton Administration officials said the United States is prepared to support a French plan to redeploy United Nations troops into more secure positions, and emphasized the need to bolster peackeeping mission in Bosnia.

In an interview on national television, Mr. Juppé said, "We have to end the taking of hostages, restart the diplomatic process, and if all that fails, then agree to withdraw.""I can't tell you whether that will be today or the day after," he said, addressing a public he knew was gravely concerned about the fate of French hostages, whose treatment he described tonight as "barbaric.""We cannot live with the situation as it is," he said.

He spoke after a weekend of intensive telephone contacts on the Bosnian crisis between Mr. Chirac and President Clinton, President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia, Prime Minister John Major of Britain, President Slo-

Continued From Page AI

bodan Milosevic of Serbia and other leaders. Most of the European allies that have troops in Bosnia appear to support France's calls for pulling back from exposed positions. Diplomats said Canada is also deeply concerned about the possible additional dangers that its troops could face as a result of NATO threats to repel attacks with air strikes.

Mr. Juppé said that at meetings set to be held in the Netherlands on Monday night and Tuesday, France would ask its allies to agree to send a NATO air-mobile reaction force to Bosnia equipped with helicopters and gunships that peacekeepers could call on for protection.

"These decisions should be taken within the next few days," he said. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Foreign Ministers of the so-called contact group of countries seeking a diplomatic settlement — the United Nations, United States, Britain, France, Germany and Russia — are to meet in the Hague on Monday night to consider ways of resuming diplomatic efforts, French officials said.

They are to go to the coastal resort of Nordwijk on Tuesday and Wednesday for a regular NATO ministerial meeting and for consultations between the allies and former Warsaw Pact countries.

The French proposal for a NATO reaction force would require agreement by both the United Nations and NATO — an arrangement that United States officials say has proved highly unsatisfactory in launching air strikes so far.

The French Prime Minister was also critical of the United Nations decision to call in NATO bombers against the Serbs last week, though France supported the decision at the time to force the Serbs to stop bombarding Sarajevo and to return heavy weapons they had illegally seized from United Nations weapons-collection depots.

"That ultimatum and those air strikes were not carefully planned," Mr. Juppé said tonight. "They submitted our troops to ill-considered risks. We have no right to expose our soldiers to ill-considered risks."

Mr. Juppé, who was Foreign Minister until Mr. Chirac, France's newly elected conservative President, put him at the head of a new Government 11 days ago, said that France would ask the contact group to name a single negotiator to try more effectively for a settlement. So far, its officials have usually traveled together in groups, but the Bosnian Serbs have sometimes refused to let all of them pass its checkpoints.

The Prime Minister did not say how he expected diplomacy to work after years of futility, but he did say that President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia could use his influence on the Bosnian Serbs more effectively to pressure them into accepting a settlement.

"Milosevic could do something tomorrow," Mr. Juppé said. "He could reconceal Bosnia and Herzegovina within its present frontiers. The Serb contact group tried unsuccessfully this spring to get Mr. Milosevic to agree to that as a condition for lifting United Nations economic sanctions against Serbia, but Mr. Milosevic insisted that the sanctions be lifted unconditionally first."

"The moment that is accomplished, I believe the international community should recognize the situation and lift the sanctions with a clause permitting reimposition if necessary," Mr. Juppé said.

Mr. Chirac on Saturday gave French troops in Bosnia full authority to resist attack with force and despatched a French air and naval force, including the aircraft carrier Foch and a helicopter carrier, to the Adriatic.

The force is to arrive there on Tuesday and join NATO naval operations that already include an American aircraft carrier, the Theodore Roosevelt. The NATO forces could be used to aid peacekeepers and, if necessary, to take them to safety if France, Britain, Spain and the other countries involved decide that their mission cannot be carried out and that their position is untenable.

"We have other courses of action under consideration, but any action has to be collective," Mr. Juppé said.

France's Foreign Minister, Hervé de Charette, said in an interview published today in the weekly Journal de Dimanche that the United Nations effort to keep heavy weapons out of a 12%-mile zone around Sarajevo has failed.

"With violations of the initial arrangements by one side or the other," he said, the United Nations force "has progressively been driven into a situation where it can no longer carry out its mission."
WORRIES IN REST OF ASIA

Little Support in Europe, Too — Washington Is Said to Doubt Own Legal Case

BY DAVID E. SANGER

SINGAPORE, May 27 — Japanese trade officials have spread through Asia in recent days, warning government officials that their booming economies will be the next targets if Japan is forced by the United States to set aside a certain portion of its market for American goods.

The message is sinking in. Nearly two weeks after declaring that it would impose harsh trade sanctions on Japan, the Clinton Administration is finding itself isolated and outmaneuvered around the world, with Asian governments joining their counterparts in Europe in condemning Washington's move to impose $6 billion in punitive tariffs against Japanese-made luxury cars.

In a stream of newspaper columns, public speeches and private meetings with American officials, Asian leaders have told the Clinton Administration that they believe that Mr. Clinton's top trade advisers are already having second thoughts and will seek a face-saving compromise rather than let the newly formed World Trade Organization issue a ruling on the legality of the sanctions. "We understand why America feels it must go eyeball to eyeball. But if it is successful using this weapon on Japan, soon it will use it on all of us, " said Gerald Curtis, a professor of political science at Columbia University and a longtime expert on Japanese politics. "That is why everyone is so nervous that this time there could be a real collision."

[On Sunday, the United States trade representative, Mickey Kantor, continued weeklong sparring with the Japanese over when to resume trade talks. Washington proposed a meeting on June 26, which Tokyo said was too close to the sanctions deadline. It asked instead for a meeting early in June. But Mr. Kantor, appearing on the ABC television program "This Week," said June 20 was the "correct date."]

Most trade experts say they expect that Japan would win a legal challenge to the 100 percent tariffs that are to be imposed on 13 Japanese-made luxury car models if an agreement is not reached by June 28. Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown seemed to acknowledge that possibility earlier this week in Paris, when he said that American government lawyers had mixed opinions on whether the punitive tariffs violated the world trade agreement approved last year.

"He was putting the best possible face on things," a senior American official said of Mr. Brown's comments. "I think there is a clear apprehension that we are going to court with a losing case."

Indeed, American officials are making little effort to defend the legality of the sanctions. Instead, they have begun to send direct and indirect messages to Tokyo that the security alliance that the United States. Winning the case in front of the World Trade Organization if the long-term cost is harm to their overall relationship with the United States. Winning the case in front of the trade organization, they have warned, would be an empty victory if it jeopardized American public support for the security alliance that Japan depends upon.

Japanese leaders, they now argue, have an essential decision to make: whether it is worth winning points in front of the trade organization if the long-term cost is harm to their overall relationship with the United States. Winning the case is at stake.

The sharp rejection of President Clinton's initiative in both Asia and Europe has come as a pleasant surprise to Japanese officials, and it seems to be emboldening them to face down the United States. In private, several senior Japanese officials say they believe that Mr. Clinton's top trade advisers are already having second thoughts and will seek a face-saving compromise rather than let the newly formed World Trade Organization issue a ruling on the legality of the American sanctions. The Clinton Administration, however, appears dug in.

"Both countries have walked themselves into positions that are hard to get out of," said Gerald Curtis, a professor of political science at Columbia University and a longtime expert on Japanese politics. "That is why everyone is so nervous that this time there could be a real collision."

The warning seems at odds with the Administration's public position — stated several times in the last two weeks by White House officials — that they would never use American security guarantees for Japan as a weapon in trade disputes. But in subtle ways, the two are already linked.

This morning, for example, The Straits Times, Singapore's Government-influenced newspaper, carried an interview with Winston Lord, the American Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific, that used unusually blunt language in warning Japan of the risks of its stance.

Mr. Lord said the United States was not linking its security presence with trade agreements. But he added that the public might make that linkage.
"Over time," he said, "if the U.S. domestic perception is that the U.S. was being shut out of Asian markets, they might well begin to question the maintenance of forces in the region." There are nearly 100,000 American troops in Japan, South Korea and other parts of East Asia.

Yet in a two-week tour of Asia, Mr. Lord was unable to whip up much support for Washington's hardball approach. He received his strongest backing from Singapore's patriarch and now senior minister, Lee Kuan Yew, who delivered a fiery speech in Tokyo last week urging the Japanese to deregulate and open their economy.

Mr. Lee warned Japan that it "risks serious deterioration in bilateral relations with the U.S. if it perseveres with its current practices." He added that Japan "must weigh its trading interests against its needs for an indispensable U.S. counterweight to a China growing in weight and influence, and a Russia which is still well armed but unstable."

But Mr. Lee reserved some strong criticism for the Administration, ending his speech by declaring that American demands that Japan enter a "voluntary plan" to purchase a minimum number of autos and auto parts "amount to managed trade" that would "damage the interests of other countries."

The reasons for Asian governments' refusal to back the United States are complex, Asian officials say — as intertwined as the trading relationships that link some of the world's fastest-growing economies. The first fear here is that Asian countries without Japan's wealth or political influence would not stand a chance against similar American demands that they, too, quickly open their markets or face strong sanctions. Thus, countries from Taiwan to Indonesia have a strong interest in forcing the United States to go to the World Trade Organization in the hope that big and small economies might be treated as equals.

Japan is also calling in its chips after a decade-long spending spree around the region. It has provided billions of dollars in foreign aid to Indonesia, China and other Asian nations — compared with a tiny trickle of American spending — and has built a huge network of Japanese-owned factories around the region. That network has made many Asian countries part of the Japanese economic family. Thus, air-conditioners and refrigerators produced by the Matsushita Electric Industrial Company's subsidiary in Kuala Lumpur have no problem getting onto Japanese store shelves. And Japan is a huge employer. David D. Hale, an economist for the Kemper Financial Companies, estimated recently that one in seven manufacturing workers in Thailand is now employed by a Japanese concern.

Thirdly, there is a fear that any concessions won by the United States could come at the expense of other Asian nations. In South Korea, a newspaper cartoon recently showed the United States shooting an arrow at Japan, and the Japanese deftly ducking out of the way. South Korea was standing just behind, right in the arrow's path.

Under this theory, Japanese companies reserve a certain part of their purchases for foreigners, and Asians and Europeans are left with whatever the United States does not claim. Similar fears of being cut out led European countries to warn Japan and the United States last week that they would sue both countries if Japan agreed to numerical targets for increased sales of American cars and car parts. American officials say that worry is misplaced, and that if the United States succeeds in opening the Japanese market, all of Japan's trading partners will benefit.

Thus, many Asian officials say they want to make sure that the United States and Japan are neither too adversarial or too close, both conditions that could pinch Japan's neighbors. "When the elephants fight, the grass is trampled," Mr. Sarasin said, quoting an oft-heard saying in Asia. "But when they make love, it's even worse."

Markets Closed

All financial and commodity markets in the United States are closed today in observance of Memorial Day. Markets in Britain are also closed for a bank holiday, but most markets in other countries are open.
2-Edged Sword:
Asian Regimes
On the Internet

By PHILIP SHENON

HANOI, Vietnam — Tran Ba Thai sits among tangles of computer wire in his dingy Hanoi office, hoping that he can continue to connect this long-isolated nation to the distant reaches of cyberspace.

So far, the aging Communists who run Vietnam have gone along with Mr. Thai’s plans for Net Nam, the first commercial service plugging Vietnam into the global web of computer networks known as the Internet. But Mr. Thai, a 44-year-old computer scientist with Vietnam’s Institute of Information Technology, worries that as Vietnam’s electronic postmaster, he may be walking a line as thin as a strand of computer wire.

While the Internet holds the promise of bolstering Vietnam’s economy by connecting this impoverished nation to the information superhighway, it also means that Vietnam might soon be deluged with the sort of information that the Government has long sought to keep out of the public’s hands: the writings of Vietnamese dissidents, reports by human rights groups, pornography.

“I’m sure the Government is concerned about this,” Mr. Thai said. “But the Government knows that the advantages of this system are bigger than the disadvantages. Vietnam has been totally isolated, and the Internet is the fastest, cheapest way to reintegrate Vietnam into the world.”

The cyberspace revolution may have been born in the computer labs of the West, but its impact will be felt most intensely in the authoritarian nations of Asia, the continent that is home to two-thirds of the world’s population and its fastest-growing economies.

And Asian governments are vowing to do what they can to control the Internet. Last week, the iron-fisted Government of Singapore announced that it would prosecute anyone who posted defamatory or obscene material on the Internet. China is expected to restrict access by keeping the cost of local Internet service artificially high.

But it will be impossible to shut off the Internet completely, short of cutting telephone lines and confiscating computers — solutions that are not feasible in countries that are trying to build modern, technologically advanced economies. Information moves over the Internet so rapidly and uncontrollably that in many countries, censorship could be a thing of the past.

While most Asian governments have no affection for the concept of freedom of speech, their disdain for the free flow of information is tempered by the understanding that the future of the world’s economy will depend on computers — and the transfer of information, including financial data and mail, over computer networks. Their economic vitality and their capacity to control this," said Anthony M. Rutkowski, executive director of the Internet Society, which is urging its subscribers, most of them businesses and private organizations, to avoid transmitting "antisocial" information over the Internet.

In January, Beijing announced that it would create a nationwide computer network linking more than 100 college campuses to the Internet, even though students at those same campuses were the center of political dissent before the violent 1989 crackdown in Tiananmen Square.

The Communist Government of Vietnam is allowing Internet servers to open for business, even though it has already had difficulty controlling the deluge of electronic mail from dissidents living abroad.

Some fervently anti-Communist Vietnamese dissidents in Southern California have tried to flood the personal electronic mail box of the Prime Minister of Vietnam, Vo Van Kiet, an early advocate of the Internet. That has alarmed the operators of Net Nam, which is urging its subscribers, most of them businesses and private organizations, to avoid transmitting "antisocial" information over the Internet.

No country seems to be more aware of the opportunity and the threat posed by the Internet than

Continued From Page 1

Continued on Page 40, Column 3

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 29, 1995
Singapore, the wealthy authoritarian city-state that has some of the strictest censorship laws in Asia.

In Singapore, the Government is struck by a contradictory impulse as it tries to establish Singapore as the communications and financial hub of Southeast Asia. The Government talks of making Singapore "an intelligent island," and so it not only allows the public access to the Internet, it encourages it.

The Singapore Government offers two services connecting computer users to the Internet, and a third, private service is being formed.

"The choice is either we master the technology or it will master us," said George Yeo, the Minister of Information and the Arts.

But what that means is that a budding Singaporean dissident need only sit down at a computer, dial a local telephone number and type a simple instruction on the keyboard: "soc.culture.singapore," to find a plethora of mostly anonymous invective about the Government, along with some spirited defenses of it.

The free-wheeling criticism — which might well have prompted a knock on the door from the police if it had appeared in a newspaper — is now freely available to tens of thousands of computer users in Singapore — and millions around the world — through the Internet. Playboy may be banned in Singapore, but the magazine's centerfold can be viewed, in full color, on the World Wide Web, an area of the Internet devoted to individually designed collections of text, graphics and sound, ("sites" or "home pages") which are loosely linked together.

China is reportedly planning to limit access to the Internet use. At a seminar in Hong Kong last week, a researcher for China's Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, Jiang Lintao, said that China was looking for other ways of controlling access — "for putting a brake on certain information when the networks become popular." He did not elaborate.

Singapore is calling for self-policing of the system and has warned that it will take legal action against anyone who uses the Internet to transmit pornographic or seditious material. "We should never allow Singapore to be a source of pornographic or incendiary broadcasts," Mr. Yeo said.

Last year, the Singapore Government acknowledged it rifled through the files of users of Technet, one of the two Government-financed Internet providers, in search of pornography. The search turned up a few pornographic images, leading the Government to post a computerized warning to Technet users about "countersocial activity."

But the sweep also alarmed foreign corporations operating in Singapore that use the Internet for electronic mail. The companies feared that the Government might eventually begin snooping into confidential corporate information. The Singapore Government has since assured the companies that it has no intention of conducting more unannounced searches.

Stewart A. Baker, the former general counsel of the National Security Council who is now a Washington lawyer and a specialist in international telecommunications law, said he suspected that Singapore and other governments would crack down on the Internet through litigation; against the large companies that provide access to the system — say, a defamation suit against a large multinational corporation with assets in Singapore, whose employees place rude messages about Singapore on the Internet.

"I would think there would be difficulty enforcing this against the little guys — the message senders — but they will go after the big companies that carry the messages," he said.
In Budget Battle, a Side Skirmish Over Medicare

BY ROBIN TONER
WASHINGTON, May 28 — The battle of the budget is often presented as a highly stylized and scripted clash between two parties on the floor of the House and Senate. But away from the official show, as real-life constituents defend real-life programs, the struggle is more subtle, more sophisticated and sometimes more like a political process than a legislative one.

There is no better case study — and perhaps no better indication of what the next few months will bring than the confrontation between Congressional Republicans and the hospital industry.

So far, this rift, which centers on the Republicans' proposal to extract hundreds of billions of dollars from the Medicare program, has brought a wave of angry newspaper advertising from the American Hospital Association, warning, "Everyone will feel the impact if community hospitals have to reduce their services or close their doors." It has also prompted summit meetings, stern letters from Republican leaders, charges and countercharges.

It has even prompted the House Republican Conference to produce a "Response Plan to the American Hospital Association's Attack on House Republicans." That document, which was circulated on Capitol Hill, offered sample news releases, talking points and suggested letters to local hospital officials to defend the Republican budget and cast the debate in different terms.

"A.H.A. has launched a vigorous, all-out campaign to defeat the balanced budget," one of the suggested letters declares. "Using your resources and invoking your name, it is working to insure that the budget is not balanced and Medicare is not saved from bankruptcy." The sample news release, "to use if A.H.A. ad runs in your district," declares, "The ads run in today's paper are part of a nationally orchestrated fear campaign, designed by Washington lobbyists to scare Americans into believing that Medicare shouldn't be improved or protected."

The heat of this dispute, in short, has raveled anything generated by the more traditional face-off here between Democrats and Republicans.

Representative John R. Kasich, from Ohio, the chief architect of the Republican budget as chairman of the House Budget Committee, declared in an interview last week that "the hospital association is absolutely, totally and completely irresponsible" and "out of control."

Given the stakes, the heat is not surprising. The Republican drive to balance the budget and cut taxes by 2002 is premised on extracting more than $250 billion in savings from Medicare, the program for the elderly, in addition to $175 billion or more from Medicaid, which is for the poor.

Rick Wade, senior vice president for the hospital association, replied: "We're expressing a strong point of view over a number. We think it's a proper role for us to point out that we think the number is too big."

From the beginning, the Medicare proposal has been considered the most politically vulnerable part of the Republican plan. Party leaders have tried hard to defend these huge cuts in projected spending as a means of preserving the solvency of the Medicare program, but many analysts say the reductions far exceed what is necessary on that score.

Tom Scully, a former Bush adviser and president of the Federation of American Health Systems, a trade group for about 1,400 hospitals, said it was "almost impossible to find a serious health care or budget analyst who thinks this level of cuts is justified by rational health policy."

Representatives of the hospitals, moreover, maintain that these new spending controls would be nothing short of devastating, resulting in hospital shutdowns, curtailments of services and a general disruption of the health care system. As the Republican budget resolution moved to the floor of the House and Senate earlier this month, the A.H.A. took this message to the country in newspaper advertisements, run nationally and in selected Congressional districts.

"Hospitals are successfully controlling costs, but these reductions go beyond what is reasonable," one advertisement declared. "They're going to hurt, not just folks on Medicare, but anyone who may need the high quality care that only a hospital can give."

There is ample precedent for this kind of effort; interest groups in major legislative struggles have increasingly moved to campaigns of a political kind, from polling to advertisements.

Most recently, in 1993-94, groups including the American Medical Association and the Health Insurance Association of America ran advertisements to express their concerns about the Clinton Administration's health plan. The insurance association's "Harry and Louise" commercials, about a 40-something couple fretting over the dangers of health care restructuring, became a major theme in the ensuing debate.

Behind all this advertising is a simple concept: Congress responds to public opinion. Move that, and you may move Congress, or at least the relevant members.

The quick response of House Republican leaders to the hospitals' campaign suggests they are keenly aware of that truism as well. "In order to defeat this and future attacks on our proposal, each member office needs to be both prepared and proactive," the Republican response plan declares.

Hospital officials argued that they tried a more conciliatory approach, accepting the political reality that some reductions would come in the Medicare program. But they said they have asked Republicans to work with them cooperatively.

"Our whole attitude in dealing with Republicans on this was we wanted to work with them cooperatively," said Rick Pollack, the hospital association's executive vice president for Federal relations.

But he said, "When they went to the floor with their plan, we felt we had an obligation to make sure people knew this type of proposal was very dangerous to hospitals and the communities they serve."

Now, Mr. Pollack said, with both the House and Senate adopting budget resolutions with upward of $250 billion in Medicare savings, the struggle enters a new phase: how those savings will be achieved. The hospitals want to help Republicans "reach those numbers in a responsible way," he said.

But Barry Jackson, executive director of the House Republican Conference, suggested the conciliatory phase had yet to flower fully. The hospitals, he said, "probably mistrusted them on their first step," he said. "Rather than engaging in a dialogue about the program, they went into attack mode and they now find themselves on the outside looking in."
Federal Rummage Sale of Land: Is This One Way G.O.P. Will Try to Balance the Budget?

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN Jr.

WASHINGTON, May 26 — The Republican budget proposals moving through Congress include a subtle change in accounting rules that for the first time in a decade would invite Congressional committees to pay for their spending by selling land and other publicly owned assets.

Nobody is seriously considering selling any major parks. But because of the change, committees seeking ways to balance parts of the budget that come under their jurisdiction may well be tempted to go for a kind of Federal rummage sale.

"Asset sales are short-term and short-sighted," said Senator Bill Bradley, a New Jersey Democrat. "I doubt that any business accountant or economist would agree with the underlying budgetary premise that liquidating public assets adds to public wealth. If I sell my stock portfolio and put the returns in my checking account, do I become wealthier?"

The change in accounting rules to allow asset sales to raise cash will take effect only after House and Senate versions of the budget are reconciled and the bill is signed by President Clinton.

The Clinton Administration does not oppose counting asset sales as budget savings, although it differs with Congressional Republicans on many of the assets to be sold.

While nothing has prohibited the Government from selling its property to the private sector, Federal budget law has minimized the financial incentive for Congress by prohibiting the counting of these payments as a contribution toward a balanced budget.

But now, as Congress directs the committees that write spending bills to meet budgetary targets aimed at eliminating the deficit, the rule change could be especially important for committees that are reluctant to cut spending or raise taxes.

For the first time since the 1986 Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget law tried to infuse more discipline into the budget process, the committees will be free to use income from selling assets to offset spending.

For example, the budget outline that passed the Senate on Thursday assumes that from 2000 through 2002 the Government will receive $550 million by selling the Presidio, a spectacular section of waterfront next to the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco. Once a military post, the Presidio is now owned by the National Park Service.

"It is one of the most remarkable pieces of property left in the United States, and certainly the most remarkable piece of property left in an urban area," said Senator Dale Bumpers, an Arkansas Democrat, who fought the notion of counting revenue from asset sales in arriving at a balanced budget. "Here we have already put it up for sale. Who knows where we go after that?"

Environmental advocacy groups were especially upset about the rule change because the budget resolutions specifically recommend raising cash by leasing the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for oil exploration and drilling.

"Under the guise of deficit reduction, industry allies in the Senate are using budget gimmickry to set up a fire sale of our national parks, forests, refugees and other public lands," said Robbie Cox, the president of the Sierra Club. "Whenever a senator's pet pork-barrel project is threatened they will rush to sell off another piece of our children's heritage."

But Senator Ted Stevens, a Republican of Alaska, called such suggestions "stupid."

"Have we suggested selling Mount Rushmore?" he said during the debate. "My God, I really cannot believe the depth of this argument, when it comes down to just say anything to scare people throughout the country."

The environmental groups were especially upset about the rule change because the budget resolutions specify that the Government will receive $550 million by leasing the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for oil exploration and drilling. Protecting the area, a breeding ground for wildlife, has long been a priority of the environmental groups.

Although the budget is only an outline of where the Congress will actually spend and raise money, the votes on how income is accounted for are important because they provide a clear sense of sentiment and because procedural rules will make it hard later this year to stop initiatives like opening the Arctic refuge to oil drilling.

Under budget rules, committees that write spending bills must meet dollar targets included in the budget resolution, but they are not bound to raise or spend money on specific projects.

The change in accounting rules could lead committees to offer for sale assets under their jurisdiction to pay for spending programs that they are unwilling to cut or that they want to expand.

Already, a House committee has approved legislation to create a commission for recommending which parks ought to be sold or transferred to the states. The commission would operate in the same way as one that has identified military bases for closing, subject to Congressional approval. The bill would exempt 54 major parks.

And a House task force studying the deficit has endorsed a proposal by the Heritage Foundation, a conservative research organization, to help balance the budget by selling Federal land that is now used for grazing, wildlife refuges and parks preserved as wilderness.
Troops Infected With H.I.V. Facing Unexpected Fear of Losing Their Jobs

BY DAVID W. DUNLAP

Ever since learning in 1988 that he had been infected with the AIDS virus, a 31-year-old petty officer based in Southern California has comforted himself that he would be taken care of, because the Navy always takes care of its own.

Across the country, a 35-year-old captain at the Pentagon found sanctuary in the same belief after evidence of the human immunodeficiency virus, which causes AIDS, was found in his blood in 1991. He would be taken care of, because the Army always takes care of its own.

Today, they wonder fearfully how much longer they can depend on that care. So does a lieutenant commander at an East Coast naval base, an Air Force technical sergeant stationed in the Midwest and a staff sergeant with the Marine Corps at Camp Lejeune, N.C.

These men and 1,100 other troops infected with H.I.V. would be discharged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget charged from the military under an amendment to the defense budget.

For some, the fear is real. For others, it is the specter that make it seem bad, he said. "And any naval officer with two or more stars is a politician. The politicians, commanders and captains that I've met say that if you're handing your bar and going to get a job, there's not a real big problem."

But he does not underestimate the emotional impact of infection. "Our entire lives are suddenly turned upside down," he said. "What's kept me from being depressed has been a good job and the support of the people I work with in a visible command.

The Captain

"We tend to be rather clannish," said the 32-year-old Army captain from Georgia, explaining the support he has found from those at the Pentagon to whom he has confided his H.I.V. status.

The captain learned he had the virus during a routine test in 1991, seven years after going into his career, which has involved military intelligence. He expects to be promoted to major in a few months, with "everyone's assumption of remaining on active duty as long as I'm able to produce and find the time to work.

What is happening on Capitol Hill worries him particularly because it contradicts Defense Department policy. "That Dornan should pursue it is not surprising," the captain said. "That he's persuasive with other persons is very frightening."

After a discharge as dangerous as this, he said, "to lose a job and the associated health benefits would be totally devastating."}

The Technical Sergeant

A discharge would only be the beginning of the problem, said a 34-year-old technical sergeant from California, who has known of his H.I.V. status for six of the 12 years he has served in the Air Force.

"I'm worried about the discrimination in the real world, about having able to get a job, because it has been a real problem," he said. "They run ramps, he said. "They raise the involuntary separation and that is frightening."

Now stationed in the Midwest, the sergeant said he would like to serve at least another eight years using an acronym for the continental United States, fig. said: "There are many vital roles within Gates that would have to be manned during wartime. We're not all going to be sent overseas.

The Staff Sergeant

Although he cannot serve abroad, a 34-year-old staff sergeant at Camp Lejeune is helping train the Marines who can. Originally from Mississi- ppi, he explained in 1988, he decided that he had H.I.V. two years ago and re- enlisted.

"We are still productive," the staff sergeant said. Other Marines with the same status, he said, are the same age and says, "You're H.I.V. positive and no longer of use to us, and we're going to throw you out for being a H.I.V. positive.

"The politicians are the ones that make it seem bad," he said. "And any naval officer with two or more stars is a politician. The soldiers, commanders and captains that I've met say that if you're handing your bar and going to get a job, there's not a real big problem."

But he does not underestimate the emotional impact of infection. "Our entire lives are suddenly turned upside down," he said. "What's kept me from being depressed has been a good job and the support of the people I work with in a visible command.

The Lieutenant Commander

"I've always felt the Navy was like my family," said a 48-year-old lieutenant commander from Texas, who was commissioned in 1968. "The Navy has been there for me and says, 'You're H.I.V. positive and no longer of use to us, and we're going to throw you out for being a H.I.V. positive.'"

"But I wanted to do my job," the captain continued, "and my mother always told me to do it to the best of my ability or don't do it at all."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 29, 1995
The Forest Service may try a new tack and treat fire as a part of nature.

physical people who don't like the idea of slowing down. So this is really the greatest job in the world.

Smokejumpers take comfort in the odds. Since 1939, there have been more than 5,000 Smokejumpers. Some have made nearly 300 jumps. Only three times in 56 years has there been an accidental death in jumping from the planes. I did the first jump, more than 50 years ago, with no one other fellows, and I firmly believe it's safer than walking the streets of Missoula," said Earl Cooley, the 80-year-old president of the National Smokejumpers Association. They are planning a big reunion this summer in Missoula.

The disasters, for the most part, have been on the ground. The most famous was the Mann Gulch fire of 1949, chronicled by Norman Maclean in his 1992 book, "Young Men and Fire." A crew of 15 Smokejumpers dropped into a smokey canyon in central Montana on Aug. 5. A few hours later, all but two of them were dead, caught in a blowup when winds shifted and the fire roared through Mann Gulch.

One reason that the fire season was horrendous last year, Government scientists have said, is that the worst winds, on fires that can be far faster than any firefighter could run — and flames leaped to nearly 300 feet in height.

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A Nuclear Plant Gets New Equipment and a New Attitude

Whistle Blowers Are Encouraged

By ANDREW C. REVKIN

BUCHANAN, N.Y. — Thirteen months ago, S. David Freeman, the new president of the New York Power Authority, strode to the podium to address 500 workers in the cavernous turbine hall at the Indian Point 3 nuclear power plant.

The four gleaming turbines in the room normally would have been humming loudly as they transformed the energy in nuclear-heated steam into 980,000 kilowatts of electricity. But they were silent, as they had been since February 1993.

Mr. Freeman was there to reverse a dangerous decline that had forced the authority to shut down the plant on the east bank of the Hudson, 35 miles north of Manhattan. Federal regulators had repeatedly fined the plant, noting faulty equipment and procedures and a management style that stifled whistle blowers. One inspector compared Indian Point 3 to "a plane losing altitude.

The workers were nervous. Rumors had circulated that Mr. Freeman was going to close the plant permanently, and his speech did little to calm them. Mr. Freeman spoke of the inherent dangers of nuclear power and the culture of complacency that had engulfed the plant. But he swore that "I'm not up here to lock the door." He was there, he said, to instill what he and his new plant manager, Leslie Hill, called "nuclear religion." The first commandment, he said, was that complacency was out, and vigilance in. Just over a year later, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Hill and other power authority officials say that Indian Point 3 has undergone a death-bed conversion to a new faith, in which respect for the power of the atom is paramount.

The hardware has been upgraded, as well, Mr. Freeman said in an interview, adding that virtually every valve and bearing has been examined. "Never has a power plant had more people looking harder," he said. But more important is the change in attitude and work habits, he added. "The days of lone-wolfing, hot-dogging and improvising are over." Interviews with Federal inspectors and a range of employees, including a consulting engineer who has been a whistle blower in the past, support the contention that the culture at Indian Point 3 has undergone a revolution. Whether or not this shift equates with safe, reliable and profitable operation remains to be seen.

"I've observed this situation very closely for a long time," Curtis Cowgill, the engineer leading the Federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission's monitoring of the plant, said. "Things have really changed." He and 19 other Federal inspectors recently spent three weeks studying Indian Point 3 and assessing procedures and work habits. The N.R.C. has also had three inspectors working full time at the plant for two years.

"We observed enough that I don't believe it's shallow or was simply done for our benefit," Mr. Cowgill said. After the recent inspection, the N.R.C. cleared the way for the plant, after some fine-tuning, to restart. Power authority officials said several weeks of additional testing and repairs will delay the restart until at least the middle of June.

Many critics of the plant are not satisfied with management changes and continue to point to underlying technical hazards as their main concern. Robert Pollard, a nuclear engineer with the Union of Concerned Scientists, which focuses on energy and environmental issues, said that valves, cables and wiring at the plant and others like it have never been tested under conditions simulating emergencies. "If the public understood the risk from Indian Point, they wouldn't tolerate it," he said. "Instead they get fed this pabulum of cultural something-or-other that puts everyone to sleep.

But Lizbeth A. Lee, a systems engineer who has worked at Indian Point 3 for 15 years, said no one is more motivated to keep the plant safe than the people who work there. "Remember," she said, "God forbid the worst scenarios happen, we're the people getting exposure. While everybody else is getting evacuated, we have our emergency cards and our beepers to be going toward the plant. We're betting our lives on this." If a new religion is being practiced by the 900 employees of Indian Point 3, then the 215-foot-tall concrete and steel dome encasing the reactor and related equipment is their cathedral.

A framed set of photographs in a hallway showed how conditions had deteriorated before the shutdown in the room housing air-conditioning units intended to provide uncontaminated air to the control room during a fire or other emergency. Rust and oil caked the floor. Now, Mr. Hill eagerly displayed that room, which glowed under fresh coats of paint.

At every turn in the reactor building, the walls were now emblazoned with yellow diamond-shaped signs reading, "STAR: Stop, Think, Act, Review." Pie charts in one office divided up the previous week's "total human performance errors" by department. "Before, we wouldn't know if a problem was a trend or an anomaly.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 29, 1995
The leak was another indication of the new culture at work. "This is the payoff for prudence," Mr. Freeman said.

To critics, however, the leak is one more sign that the 19-year-old plant poses an unacceptable risk to the metropolitan region. Barbara Hickernell, a spokeswoman for the Alliance to Close Indian Point, a coalition of environmental groups, said, "Mr. Freeman accomplished many things during his career, but this is akin to raising the dead."

Mr. Freeman said that "when it comes to nuclear power, people have a right to be concerned, even frightened." He said he would close Indian Point 3 instantly if he thought it was not safe. "I'm Dave the Nuke Killer," he said, referring to his past work in closing eight plants operated by the Tennessee Valley Authority and also the Rancho Seco plant in California when extensive repairs and tests failed to improve performance.

"Shutting one of these down is no big thing to me," he said. "But the truth of the matter is, those new managers we've put in there have done something fairly sensational," he added. "Only time will really persuade people."
From One Man's Loss, Comfort for Thousands

By The New York Times

ANGEL FIRE, N.M., May 28 - Dwight Perry has scarcely slept through the night since the Vietnam War. Last week he wasn't sleeping at all. So he left his Albuquerque home at 5 A.M. on Friday and drove three hours north to visit a white chapel surrounded by mountains and talk to an old man who understood his pain.

"Dr. Westphall has always had open arms for me," said Mr. Perry, who is 46. "He's always has time to listen. He's like a second father to me."

The first six times Mr. Perry visited the D.A.V. Vietnam Veterans National Memorial in Angel Fire, he did not go inside. "I was afraid to bring those wounds up," he said. "But then I finally went in and met Dr. Westphall. Now I come back here whenever I need to."

Dr. Victor Westphall, an 82-year-old man standing a little over five feet tall, is as much a part of the memorial as the chapel and the visitors center built into the hills of the Moreno Valley here. In fact, he began building the Vietnam Veterans Peace and Brotherhood Chapel on his property during the summer of 1968, just a few months after one of his sons, Lieut. Victor David Westphall, a retired private builder, was totally unpopular, but some­thing needed to be done," said Dr. Westphall, a retired private builder who earned a doctorate in history from the University of New Mexico in the 1950's.

His monument to what he terms the "tragedy and futility of war" cost an out of money in the mid­1970's. That is when the Disabled American Veterans, based in Cold Springs, Ky., stepped in and began building and operating it. Dr. Westphall lives in an apartment in the back of the visitors center. He takes his role as "director emeritus" seriously and personally greets many of the 60,000 to 70,000 people who stop each year. "I make it a point to talk to most of the Vietnam veterans," he said. "I try to be here for them."

When asked how many veterans he had met in the last 27 years, he said: "Oh, I don't know. Maybe half a million."

As Dr. Westphall sat at his desk in a little office in the visitors center today, on the wall behind him hung a photograph of his son in full Marine uniform. Several paintings of the memorial and David adorn the office walls, along with some American Indian art.

Dr. Westphall brings visiting veterans back to this office when they want to talk — and cry — privately. "Otherwise, I just talk to them wherever they happen to be, whether it's the chapel, the visitors center or on the grounds," he said.

The memorial, on 26 acres across the rolling hills, has walls shaped like wings that come together 50 feet in the air. Inside the nondenomina­tional chapel is an iron Peace and Brotherhood Symbol whose three cactus-like arms each hold electric candlelight. A hat, boots and an army jacket lie among the items visitors have left by the symbol.

Dr. Westphall said Vietnam veterans feel comfortable coming here, talking with him and sharing their pain. "When they came home, by and large they were not very well greated," he said. "When they knew that someone cared enough in 1968 to build a chapel, that puts things in a different light."

About one-third of the memorial's annual visitors come during the Memorial Day weekend, said Mike Peters, general manager of the memorial. "We are expecting 16,000 to 20,000 visitors," he said last week.

A few days ago, a tent city was set up about a mile from the memorial. Large American and P.O.W./M.I.A. flags flutter above a meadow filled with tents and campers.

"This is my 13th year in a row coming here," said Ric Salas, a Vietnam veteran from Albuquerque who was talking with friends by his 1964 Ford truck. "A lot of us come early for the brotherhood, the fishing and to see Dr. Westphall. I love that man for what he's done for Vietnam vets, and so does everyone else here."

Kenneth Rhoads rode his motorcyc­cle to the memorial from Morton,Tex., with his 17-year-old daughter Brandi on the back. "Sometimes the memories of Vietnam get overwhelming," he said. "But I always feel better, more at peace, when I leave this place."

Several thousand visitors, many of them bikers, milled about the chapel and visitors center today, a cold and rainy day, as Dr. Westphall greeted many of them and talked with his wife, Jeannie, 79, and son Douglas.

Later, during a service in the chapel, Dr. Westphall spoke of his trip to Vietnam last year to visit the spot where his son was ambushed and killed. The several hundred people present gave him a standing ovation when he began his remarks, and another when he finished. Afterward, the group walked to a spot outside where Dr. Westphall had scattered soil he brought back from the spot in Vietnam where his son died. There, they unveiled a mar­ble monolith. The soil was from the Vietnamese town of Con Thien, which Dr. Westphall was told means "Place of the Angels." He had also taken soil from Angel Fire to Con Thien. The earth from the "angels," he noted with a touch of reverence, had the same reddish-brown color.
Clinton is deferring to Europeans whose troops are in danger, but still wants the option of air strikes.

primarily for domestic French political consumption, and emphasized the resolve of all parties to strengthen the peacekeeping effort, not weaken it.

 Officials said Secretary of State Warren Christopher consulted repeatedly with his French counterpart, Hervé de Charette, about a French proposal to "reconfigure and redeploy" United Nations forces "in ways that make them less vulnerable," as one senior official put it. The idea is to put troops into more concentrated positions and "reinforce them in terms of equipment and power is an option."

 Mr. Clinton, who spent the weekend quietly in Washington, was in the White House residence and did not attend the meeting in the West Wing, aides said, but was briefed afterward and throughout the day by Mr. Berger. The national security adviser, Anthony Lake, was returning from delivering a commencement address in Massachusetts and did not attend the meeting. On Monday, the President is to speak at a Memorial Day service at Arlington National Cemetery but is not expected to address the Bosnian situation.

 The White House is acutely conscious that American troops are not in jeopardy in Sarajevo, and hence it is taking pains to defer any decision on the next step to the European allies. But by keeping such a low profile, the Clinton Administration also risks looking a bit like the Halloween prankster who rings a doorbell and then runs, since it helped prompt the latest escalation by arguing for the air strikes.

 Senior officials said they had been aware of the probability of retaliation, and "planned for a whole range of contingencies." But they declined to answer whether they had specifically anticipated hostage-taking.

 Privately, some American officials expressed chagrin that United Nations commanders in Bosnia had not taken more aggressive steps to keep their troops out of harm's way before the air strikes last week, and sought to lay blame with them. They said United Nations commanders had argued that pulling in the troops would have alerted the Serbs that raids were coming.

 "We always knew that no matter how effective the strikes, there would be retaliation," one official said. "At least in the short term, we hope that no one will lose their nerve."

 The United States has no troops in Bosnia but Mr. Clinton sent about 500 troops to another former Yugoslav republic, Macedonia, in 1993 as part of a United Nations observer force.
Laying the groundwork for a trans-Atlantic free trade area?

As for economic cooperation, American and European diplomats say that while setting up a trans-Atlantic free trade area is a decade or two off, opening talks to establish such an area can inject new energy into the relationship.

"Mr. Christopher will be in the Netherlands Monday through Wednesday for NATO meetings focusing on the crisis in Bosnia. On Friday, he will give his policy address in Madrid and meet with Spanish officials before they assumed into the European Union's rotating six-month presidency in July.

"This speech will be a reassurance to Europeans as to U.S. intentions," said a senior State Department official.

To strengthen political ties, Mr. Christopher will propose stepped-up cooperation in halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons, seeking peace in the Middle East, helping political reform in the former Soviet bloc and providing aid to the third world, Europe and Russia. While trans-Atlantic coordination is often done haphazardly through occasional meetings, Mr. Christopher will call for setting up more formal mechanisms, like regular meetings between American and European narcotics officials.

The way British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd described it in a speech on May 22 in Chicago, increased cooperation is vital so that the U.S. and Europe can become "pathfinders that lead world effort toward peace, stability, free trade and prosperity.

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Some Administration officials are said to be pushing for a go-slow approach to free trade with Europe because they remember how an important Democratic constituency, labor unions, soured on President Clinton when he pushed for the North American Free Trade Agreement. But some policy makers predict that labor will hardly object to pursuing a free-trade accord since many European nations, unlike Mexico, have a higher minimum wage and tougher safety and environmental standards than the United States.

European and American officials say movement toward a free trade zone will be hampered by the three politically charged issues that the two sides wrestled over in the so-called Uruguay Round of trade talks: subsidies to farmers, subsidies to aircraft manufacturers, and European quotas on imported movies and television programs.

The idea of a trans-Atlantic free trade area has caused some Asian leaders to warn that the United States is turning its attention away from them because of frustrations with Asian trade restrictions.
Death Penalty Popular in Japan, but Rare Recently

BY NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

TOKYO, May 18 — Mitsuo Fujishima is a charming 37-year-old who seems to have strong views about only one political subject: capital punishment.

"I'm against the death penalty," he declared fervently. "You have to think of the human side of the criminal, and killing someone doesn't help the victim."

Mr. Fujishima's view is perhaps not surprising, since he is himself a convicted double-murderer who has declared fervently. "You have to think of the human side of the criminal, and killing someone doesn't help the victim."

Most Japanese on the other side of the prison walls are strong supporters of capital punishment, though — and they do not seem shaken by the possibility that the crackdown on the Aum Shinrikyo religious sect could send dozens of people to the gallows.

The death penalty in Japan has come into focus because of the recent arrests of more than 30 members of the sect for murder in connection with the nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subway system in March. The group's guru, Shoko Asahara, and at least 40 of his followers could be hanged for the subway attack and other murders in which the sect is suspected.

While much of the world has moved sharply away from the death penalty in recent decades, Japan and most other Asian countries share the United States fairly broad support for executions.

"I think this system of punishment — of those who have done terrible things fits well with the psychology of the Japanese people," said Tadashi Uematsu, a law professor emeritus at Hitotsubashi University in Tokyo. "In Japan it's important to be able to maintain the death penalty.

Controversy occasionally erupts, as it did earlier this year over Tokyo's execution of a Filipino maid for murder. The beheading was accused by some as evidence of a Singapore of railroading an innocent person through judicially painless. The brisk of breaking diplomatic relations.

But the Philippines then found itself forced into a round of soul-searching. After the democratic revolution that has ended the death penalty, but then reintroduced it in 1992, in part because of concerns about crime. "We in Asia are more concerned with justice and punishment," a Taiwanese official said. "You in the West have a Christian tradition that emphasizes mercy, and so you are more reluctant to execute people. You always want to forgive people."

Prosecutors have not said whether they will seek the death penalty for the Aum Shinrikyo suspect, Mr. Fujishima, and were furious:

Stated Mr. Fujishima, rather than relying on justice and punishment, is the last word for which the Government has released figures, although it had no executions in each of the three preceding years.

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Most Asian countries share the U.S. support for executions.

Mr. Asahara and other officials of his sect. But capital punishment is common for multiple murderers in Japan, and there have been few cases of murder involving as many victims as the nerve gas case in March.

Tweelve people died in that attack, another seven died in a nerve gas attack last year to which the sect has been linked and four people whom the group is suspected of kidnapping are missing and presumed dead.

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Mr. Fujishima was able to find his wife, and he went off with her, abducting one of her bar customers as well. After several weeks on the run, Mr. Fujishima tried to force the customer to sex with his wife, and then he drowned the customer in a bathtub.

"It just happened all of a sudden," Mr. Fujishima said. "I couldn't believe it myself." He added that he felt terrible about what he had done.

Mr. Fujishima, who wore a yellow sweatshirt, was interviewed in a tiny room at a Tokyo prison. He sat on one side of a glass pane, as a guard sat next to him and took notes.

He spoke courteously, bowed on arrival and departure, thanked the volunteer social worker who met him periodically fell in love with him. They have married, although it has been impossible for them to have a wedding celebration, to touch each other or to do more than peer at each other through the glass.

Indeed, he is so charming that a volunteer social worker who met him periodically fell in love with him. They have married, although it has been impossible for them to have a wedding celebration, to touch each other or to do more than peer at each other through the glass.

Mr. Fujishima could receive visitors only because his final appeal of the death sentence is still pending. The court ruling is scheduled to come down in June, but neither Mr. Fujishima nor his lawyer has any hope.

"It's certain that the appeal will be denied," the lawyer said. "We're just trying to extend the time."

More than any other country in the world, the Japanese legal process can drag on interminably. One 77-year-old man has been under sentence of death for 27 years, and two others for 26 years each. Amnesty International, in a blistering critique of Japan's death penalty, charged earlier this year that Japan's Justice Ministry has nothing to say and makes decisions on its own about when to order executions, sometimes for political reasons.

If his final appeal is rejected, Mr. Fujishima will be kept in a cell and refused all visitors aside from family members. Neither he nor his family will be told the execution date, but one day within six months a guard will come to his cell and take him to a room with a little Buddhist altar. There a prisoner is offered a last meal and given some time to compose himself. Then he is blindfolded, handcuffed and taken to the gallows a few feet away.

The Tokyo subway killings put a fresh focus on death sentences.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 29, 1995

The Tokyo subway killings put a fresh focus on death sentences.
Governing Socialists in Spain Suffer Defeats in Local Voting

By CLYDE H. FARNWORTH

HALIFAX, Nova Scotia — The paving stopped where Africville began, and the tiny waterside community’s residents had neither running water nor streets.

About 80 families lived in Africville when the city began buying their land in the mid-1960’s. They were descended from slaves freed in the War of 1812.

When the last of the homes there were razed and all the residents had been moved into new public housing, the book seemed to close on an unusual segment of the black experience in North America.

Now some of the former residents say they got a bad deal, and they want their community back.

The early residents of Africville worked on the construction gangs that helped build Halifax. Their descendants, along with newer black immigrants, chiefly from the Caribbean, make up about 4 percent of the population of Halifax, the biggest city in the Maritime Provinces.

In the general elections on Monday, the residents of Africville voted about $400,000 for their land — about $200,000 in furniture allowances and $1,000 for each person — and $400,000 for their land — about $200,000 in furniture allowances and $1,000 for each person.

Eddie Carvery, 21, a jobless sheet-metal worker, has been living in a trailer in an area of Halifax, Nova Scotia, that once was Africville. He is protesting the way the residents of the community were moved off their land almost 30 years ago. At right is a photo of an unidentified young woman in Africville in 1962.

Vacant and eventual compensation for the wrongs they feel were done to the community.

“The city of Halifax has been beyond shameless,” said one of the brothers’ supporters, Sean Foyn, 31, the campus community liaison for blacks at Dalhousie University in Halifax. “When most of the students begin to understand what happened at Africville, they are appalled.”

The brothers intend to continue their protest through a meeting with the seven richest industrialized nations, which will be held here June 15-17. They have invited sympathizers to camp out with them at what they call their alternative “people’s summit.”

The former Africville occupies about four square miles at the northern end of Halifax harbor. Part of the site has been converted into Seaview Park, and the best to do today is worth many times what the city paid.

The protest has stirred the conscience of many residents, both black and white, within this metropolitan area of 300,000. Doug Reynolds, host of a radio talk show, said flatly, “What happened 30 years ago was wrong.” But then he asked, “How much are we responsible now for what happened?”

City officials say the claims have no merit. “They were taken from living conditions that were not the best, and put in living conditions that were better,” said Deputy Mayor Stephen D. Adams. “They were given compensation at the time.”

Nonetheless, the City Council has made a small peace offering. It has proposed to create a $100,000 scholarship fund for Africville descendants and to donate land to rebuild Seaview United Baptist Church, whose original building had been torn down.

Donald Clarmont, professor of sociology at Dalhousie and co-author of “Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community,” said that at the very least, bringing the story of Africville back into the public view has debunked the city’s contention that the relocation was “progressive.”

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How to Read the Constitution on Term Limits

To the Editor:

"In the same Court's term limits decision (front page, May 23), Associate Justice Clarence Thomas (writing for the four dissenters) would uphold state power to impose limits because the Constitution, he says, is "silent" on the question. While the Constitution does not say the states cannot impose term limits, what it does say implies conclusively that the states have no such power. In Justice Thomas's view, if I said I was taking a lobster home for lunch, he would have no idea whether I meant to eat it or feed it.

The Constitution (1) specifies three qualifications for members of Congress; (2) states that while states can prescribe the "time, places and manner" of holding Congressional elections, Congress can "make or alter" any such prescription, and (3) lets each state set the requirements for voting in Congressional elections, so long as the requirements are like those for voting for the state's own lower house.

Those three specific provisions declare an important policy: The Federal interest in how we select members of Congress requires being able to override—or limit—state power. One more provision belies the fiction of "silence": in contrast with the specificity of qualifications for Congress, the states are free to set qualifications for Presidential electors. The Constitution states only that they cannot be Federal officials.

The lengthy dissenting opinion found space to note, why we do not leave states free to elect 6-year-olds, and that Congress needed the power to "make or alter," lest a state add "impossible" qualifications so that no one could be elected.

Don't Turn Tibet Into Partisan Issue

To the Editor:

"Don't Turn Tibet Into Partisan Issue" (editorial, May 25) stated that Congress would throw relations with China into a tailspin by recognizing Tibet as an occupied sovereign country.

It has been the position of Congress since 1991 that Tibet is an illegally occupied country under international law. This had strong bipartisan backing, and was signed into law by President Bush.

You say now is not the time for "grandstanding on Tibet." Tibetans have heard this for 36 years. It should always be the right time for a principled position on freedom and democracy not just for China, but for Tibet as well.

The Tibet portions of this legislation are far from being, as you suggest, a misbegotten Republican effort. The most important provision on Tibet this year was originally introduced by Senator Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island.

Significant in the current legislation is creation of a special envoy for Tibet. The media is misinformed in suggesting that would amount to recognition of the Tibetan government-in-exile, rather than a strengthening of efforts to facilitate a negotiated settlement.

LODI GYARI
President, International Campaign for Tibet
Washington, May 25, 1995

Foreign Policy Is Congressional Territory

To the Editor:

"Contrary to Anthony Lewis's assertion "that in 1787 the Framers of the Constitution made the President the principal voice of the United States abroad" (column, May 26), I observe that one document in vain for an executive power to conduct foreign relations.

The Framers, fearing the potential for tyranny from "the executive magistracy," expressly limited the President to implementing (or executing) laws dictated by Congress. To that end, they assigned to Congress the most awesome of all foreign policy authorities - the power to declare war. President Nixon was careful in his veto of the War Powers Resolution in 1973 to acknowledge the need in this sphere for "the fullest cooperation between the Congress and the executive and the prudent fulfillment by each branch of its constitutional responsibilities."

The Father of the Constitution, James Madison, said of the international roles of the President and Congress: "Although the executive may be a convenient organ of preliminary communications with foreign governments ... [he] can have no pretensions ... to that essential agency which gives validity to all such determinations."

In 1958, the Supreme Court, in Perez v. Brownell, spoke to this issue: "Although there is in the Constitution no specific grant to Congress of power to enact legislation for the effective regulation of foreign affairs, there can be no doubt of the existence of this power in the law-making organ of the Nation."

The fact that Presidents have repeatedly arrogated foreign policy powers and thereby aggrandized the office neither legitimates such actions nor alters the relevant republican principles of the Constitution.

ROGER BRANDWEIN
New York, May 26, 1995

State Variations

To the Editor:

"You May 24 editorial on the Supreme Court decision regarding the Arkansas term limits case states twice a somewhat misleading point regarding the states' role in setting qualifications for service in Congress. First, you state that "qualifications for the Federal legislature were determined by the Constitution alone," and later that the Constitution "envisioned a national legislature of uniformly qualified members."

Article I Section 2 of the Constitution in outlining qualifications of a representative notes that "Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications for Presidential electors. The Constitution states only that they cannot be Federal officials.

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The writers of the Constitution did allow for a certain variation among the states, albeit a small one and one that provided for wider eligibilit-

JOHN B. ANDERSON
Associate Professor of History
College of the Holy Cross

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ROGER BRANDWEIN
New York, May 26, 1995
**Tiananmen-Times Sq.**

To the Editor:

A group of Chinese intellectuals has issued a call for their Government to commemorate those who died in the Tiananmen Square demonstration six years ago. As the June 4 anniversary approaches, we can demonstrate our respect for the fallen by commemorating the dead.

For one week, the Mayor of New York should change the name of Times Square to Tiananmen Square, sending a message that Times Square and Tiananmen Square are the crossroads of human rights in the world.

Great Neck, L.I., May 22, 1995

The writer is co-leader of the China team of Amnesty International's Great Neck group.

**Delaware Supreme Court Nomination Involved No Consensus**

To the Editor:

Year article of May 23, describing a Delaware Supreme Court decision not to nominate Andrew G. T. Moore to a second term on the Delaware Supreme Court, relies on key facts and impugned distinguished citizens of my state.

Delaware's judicial nominating process, a model for this state, has produced one of the nation's finest justices. The process reflects a strong faith in its sitting judges.

A sitting judge need only receive four of nine votes on the Judicial Nominating Commission to receive a recommendation from the court.

After considering Moore's record and weighing information by a broad cross-section of Delaware's legal community, including members of the bench and bar, two-thirds of the commission voted — not once, but twice — against submitting his name for consideration.

Delawareans know the impugneability of leaders of our state by accusing them and their law firm — Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom — of orchestrating the ouster of Mr. Moore for the benefit of one of the nation's finest legal minds.

Flom — by all accounts the most powerful partner at Skadden, Arps — is a friend of Mr. T. Moore's, wrote letters to the commission and one supporting his reappointment, and is the lawyer for Mr. Perelman.

Lastly, Carolyn Berger, whom I selected to replace Mr. Moore on the court, is one of the finest jurists in our state. Her qualifications are acknowledged, even by those who wanted Mr. Moore to be reappointed. You need not mention Justice Berger's most recent job — her service on Delaware's world-renowned Chancery Court from 1984 to 1994. Instead, you mention only her tenure as an associate at Skadden, Arps more than a decade ago.

WALTER J. MOORE

Governor of Delaware

Wilmington, Del., May 26, 1995

**Bankrupt, but Honest**

To the Editor:

I write to register my strong exception to comments in "Don't Sue, They Say. We Went Bankrupt" (Week in Review, May 21).

You describe the bankruptcy courts as "once simply the final refuge of deadbeats and scoundrels." This characterization displays ignorance of the history and day-to-day workings of the bankruptcy courts.

The large majority of cases I have represented in any chapter of the Bankruptcy Code in the past five years have been far from deadbeats or scoundrels. They are hard-working citizens who have fallen upon hard times, often caused by ill health or unemployment.

The bankruptcy courts provide a source of security and comfort to these individuals, while they struggle to renew their lives that have been shattered.

JOHN J. D'EMIC

Brooklyn, May 22, 1995

**Other Countries Thrive On Unbalanced Budgets**

To the Editor:

The drive to balance the budget seems driven not by economics but by a radical social philosophy. Budgets are not balanced in any comparable way in other countries.

The comparable percentages in other countries are: Japan, 2; Britain, 4.8; Germany, 5.8; Italy, 8.4; Netherland, 3.1; Canada, 6.2, and Switzerland, 3.7 (data from the World Bank).

Except for Japan, none of these countries have been in balance in five years. All these countries produce more than they spend or save, according to their government services to their citizens, and in all of them there is less disparity between the rich and the poor.

WALTER J. MOORE

Governor of Delaware

Bloomington, Ind., May 23, 1995

**Topics Of The Times**

**A Long String of Pearls**

Glenn Miller has gotten back on the charts. A new recording of his World War II band's radio broadcasts from London landed on the British best-seller charts last month at No. 22. The two-CD set is titled "Glenn Miller: The Lost Recordings." They were not really lost, just out of circulation, but no matter. On the 50th anniversary of the band's World War II band's radio broadcasts from London landed on the British best-seller charts last month at No. 22.

The New York Times Company

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JOHN J. D'EMIC, President

RICHARD G. THOMAS, Treasurer

**Fresh-Air Dining in New York**

The howling against the city's new smoking restrictions was especially heard from restauranteurs and those diners who believe that cigarettes complement cuisine.

In the six weeks since the ban was put into effect, city health inspectors have visited 451 restaurants and gardens. The shouts have died to a whisper and the air in New York's restaurants is, if not exactly Edenic, a lot fresher than it used to be.

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A respectful ceremony is being held here today at the National Memorial that was the battleship Arizona.

Memorial Day is set aside to remember those killed in all our wars. But on the golden anniversary of V-J Day, coming up on Sept. 2, we should go beyond remembrance.

V-J + 50 years is a time to re-experience, to understand and to profit from the greatest event of this century: the victory of the free world over the forces of Germany's Nazism, Italy's Fascism and Japan's militaristic imperialism.

V-E Day, a nearly comparable commemoration, was botched by an Administration eager to bolster the current Russian regime and snub the British. The historic moment was frittered away in a vain reach for transient summit success.

Unfortunately, the moment is being lost again by a failure of vision.

The three-day event in Hawaii is being planned by the Defense Department. Ceremonies will be held at the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific; 20,000 veterans and armed service members will parade; salutes will be offered to uniformed representatives of countries involved in or touched by the war.

The centerpiece will be the speech of the President of the U.S. aboard the aircraft carrier Carl Vinson, with the Arizona in the background. Bill Clinton will stand in the spotlight during three days of military pageantry, with no other world leader present.

The event has been downgraded to the level of defense ministers. Military bureaucrats of 47 nations have been invited (including Russia, which helped little in defeating Imperial Japan; and Vietnam, opening the backdoor to diplomatic relations.)

The decision not to invite the President of the Philippines (Bataan, Corregidor) is dismaying; the absence of Britain's prime minister and the leaders of Commonwealth and other nations that helped win the war is an affront to history; the failure to invite the Prime Minister of Japan wastes an opportunity for reconciliation.

With no world leaders invited, no political or great moral lesson will be drawn from the victory. Little use will be made of the occasion to celebrate and advance the cause of freedom in Asia.

Much of the thinking that led to this planned military extravaganza has been: How can we get past this day without offending the Japanese? At first, our embassy in Tokyo tried to rename it "Victory in the Pacific Day." With that roundly derided, the White House now calls the day everything: V-J, Victory in the Pacific, End of World War II Commemoration, whatever.

Let's start afresh. A celebration needs a theme. Those chosen by the Pentagon — "Remembering the War" and "Peace at Last" — are banal and backward-looking. World War II was not fought to fight a war; it was fought to achieve a great moral purpose. The theme of V-J Day should be: the victory of democracy over tyranny, begun 50 years ago, is not yet finished.

It's fine to recall Admiral Spruance's naval genius at the Battle of Midway and to rerun TV's "Victory at Sea," but unlike D-Day, V-J Day transcends any battle. Commemoration of the event that defines this century is too important to be left to the brass.

Americans should take unabashed pride now in the democracy in the Philippines, our former colony; at the new freedom in Taiwan; closest to home, at the statehood of Hawaii, enriching our culture.

And the U.S. should seize this opportunity to tell the world how proud we are at the opportunity our educators gave Japan, and how the Japanese made the most of the V-J gift of democracy. Sure, they took advantage of our defense umbrella to leaptfrog our economy; sure, they closed their markets and invited a trade war.

But thanks to their good sense and our exemplary occupation, Japan is a great democracy and no threat to its neighbors. V-J + 50 is the day to suspend the sniping and join in wonderment at how — a half-century later — victor and vanquished are both winners. And to point to the day when a billion more Asians will be free.

Remember the dead; honor the veterans; but celebrate victory by reminding the new generation why the war was fought and how it snatched freedom from the jaws of tyrants.

Three months remain to invite the leaders of the world to a civilian V-J commemoration worthy of that victory.
Abroad at Home
ANTHONY LEWIS

... Or Karadzic Dead

By taking United Nations peacekeepers hostage and using them as human shields, Dr. Radovan Karadzic and the other Bosnian Serb leaders have defined themselves as outside law and civilization. But then that should not have been a surprise to anyone who knew their works.

Dr. Karadzic and his colleagues, after all, presided over the first attempted genocide in Europe since Hitler: the systematic murder, torture and rape that constituted ethnic cleansing. Their idea of reprisal showed up recently when Bosnian Serbs responded to Serbian defeat in neighboring Croatia by blowing up Catholic churches in the town of Banja Luka, killing a priest and a nun.

The U.N. commander in Bosnia, Lieut. Gen. Rupert Smith of Britain, well knew that the Serbs might retaliate against his men when he asked for NATO airstrikes. So did British, French and U.S. officials who supported the strikes. They decided to go ahead anyway because inaction against ever bolder Serbian violations — shelling Sarajevo, seizing sequenced heavy weapons — was making the U.N. position untenable.

The Serbian retaliation was characteristic in its cowardice. The Bosnian Serb forces not only took hostages but directed intensified shelling at Sarajevo and Tuzla, killing scores of civilians. That was one more war crime: Deliberate targeting of civilians has been that for generations.

What can General Smith, and the politicians behind him, do in the face of the hostage-taking? The first step has been taken: making clear to Dr. Karadzic the price that he will pay if the threat to kill the hostages is carried out.

In 1904 an American, Ion Perdicaris, was kidnapped near Tangier by a local chieftain named Rassouli. Theodore Roosevelt’s Secretary of State, John Hay, sent Rassouli a cable saying the United States wanted “Perdicaris alive or Rassouli dead.” Perdicaris was released.

Life is more complicated now, and Bosnia much more so. But the essence of the message is the same: If a single hostage is murdered, Dr. Karadzic and everyone else in the chain of command to that killing will be held responsible for murder — and relentlessly pursued.

But we know by now that little things like the law against murder are not likely to bother Dr. Karadzic. So do General Smith and NATO and the U.N. cave in to the Serbs in order to get the hostages back?

No. The price of that weakness would be the final shattering of the U.N. Protection Force, with grizzly consequences for it and for the Bosnian people. Unprofor would almost certainly have to be withdrawn, probably under attack, with large numbers of American and other new ground troops sent in to protect the withdrawal. Many more Bosnian Muslims and Croats would be subjected to Serbian ethnic cleansing.

The signs are that the countries involved are not at this point in a mood to yield. Both the British and the French have sent additional forces and weapons to take more aggressive action if necessary to secure their men’s position.

If Unprofor toughs it out, its commanders will try to avoid having their men in situations where the Bosnian Serbs can again pick them off. That may mean abandoning isolated Bosnian Government enclaves in eastern Bosnia, where small numbers of Unprofor soldiers are now essentially defenseless. Would the civilian populations then be moved? How? The human problems would be ghastly.

Whatever is done will require a large amount of resolve and collaboration among Western leaders. Those are qualities that can hardly be taken for granted.

President Clinton has been, and is, in a curious position: determined not to have U.S. forces on the ground because of the political risk to him, yet pushing those who have troops there to be tougher toward the Serbian aggressors. It does not give him much moral or political leverage.

For the West, the cost of staying the course in Bosnia may be severe. But we can see ever more clearly what the cost of yielding to evil would be: a terrifying precedent for the peace and security of Europe.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 29, 1995
Debts of Honor

By Douglas E. Kneeland

LINCOLN, Me.

For much of the nation, it seems, Memorial Day has come to mean the unofficial start of summer, a holiday to be spent at the beach or in the backyard. In small towns in this part of the country, however, people still feel the traditions of the past. And there aren’t many of us who don’t willingly remember and honor our dead, whether they died in the service of their country or simply succumbed to illness or age.

I was about to describe the holiday as somber, and in an obvious way it is that. But there’s also a certain joy in the sense of continuity and fulfillment that comes with passing to pay tribute to those who have gone before.

Today, I’m thinking about one particular: Gary Gordon, a young man who left this town, his hometown, four years ago to serve in the Army in 1978, when he was 18 years old.

Gary was a prep-and-paper pulp town and shopping center of 3,500 tucked among the fir forests and spring-fed lakes in Lincoln, Me.

He wasn’t in the starting line-up, but he always gave his best. He liked to draw and doodle and sometimes his teachers thought he did too much of it in class.

I’m not writing about real heroism, I’m not talking about saving the world, or about any issue that is actually prejudiced against one nation or another.

I’m writing about Gary Gordon. I’m writing about his best. He liked to draw and doodle and sometimes his teachers thought he did too much of it in class. His mother, Betty, says his favorite subjects for drawing were military—guns and tanks and things. That could have been a hint of his later career path. But Gary Gordon, one of Vietnam War a lot of young boys were attracted to the military. But Gary may have surpassed that of the others. He liked to read and regularly rode his bike to the nearest library. A high school buddy of Gary’s was seeking some information on the Medal of Honor. And inAndy was he looking for in an Army Information Digest pamphlet published in 1978, the library, he discovered that the last person to take out the public library’s Medal of Honor was the Union Army raiding party that had slipped into Georgia in civilian clothes in April 1862 to sabotage the Confederate rail link between Atlanta and Chattanooga.

On Oct. 3, 1993, 22 years and two days after he borrowed that pamphlet, Master Sgt. Gary Gordon of the Army’s elite Delta Force died along with 17 other Americans in a battle in Mogadishu, Somalia. (Seventy-five soldiers were wounded.)

He and his partner, Sgt. 1st Class Randy Shughart of Newville, Pa., were downed by fire from terrorists in the midst of the battle and killed as they sought to rescue wounded members of the beleaguered hel-

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For instance, the essence of the Arab-Israeli conflict is legitimacy, the essence of the international system is the right to sovereignty; the Arabs understand this, too, which is why the importance of Jerusalem in Arab politics, diplomacy, and literature increased as the struggle against Zionism intensified.

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Art, Money and N.Y., N.Y.

New York, its critics say, is too crowded, too noisy, too much. True. But those of us who live here can make a claim about our difficulty — no, exasperation — over what others can make about theirs. Even at its bitterest and bleakest, New York has a buzz — a buzz that emerges from our hugging more museums, more galleries, more dance groups and more concerts than any city in the country.

The arts draw millions of tourists to New York every year, keep a good part of the middle class from pulling up stakes and lure the old-town young onto knocking at the city's big front door. And as a Port Authority study attested two years ago, New York's extraordinary cultural concentration means lots of jobs for New Yorkers, and tax revenue for the city as well.

So who would want to butcher a cash cow — especially one that produces mystique as well as money? Presumably no one, but that's precisely what will happen if Mayor Rudolph Giuliani follows Deputy Mayor John Dyson's advice about how best to pare the city's arts budget.

That the Department of Cultural Affairs funding has to be pared at all is a pity, given the damage it has already suffered through the drastic shrinkage of the state's arts budget. The greater pity, however, is that Mr. Giuliani's proposed cuts for the department will have to be made without consultation. The city would take a big whack out of what is known as the cultural institutions group, which operates out of city-owned buildings and derives badly needed help from federal and state money — from the city. But it would take a far bigger whack from the program group, with 494 organizations.

A Compromise Bid on Kashmir

India's Prime Minister, P. V. Narasimha Rao, is exploring the idea of offering the troubled state of Kashmir a form of political autonomy. That could help resolve the conflict that has been around for at least 20,000 lives since 1990. In another welcome move, Mr. Rao let a broad anti-terrorism law expire last week. More than 65,000 people, including Government officials, have repeatedly rebelled, with active Pakistani support.

The upshot of the shrine fire, however, spurred Mr. Rao to clarify his thinking about Kashmir autonomy in a way that moderate Muslim leaders may eventually be willing to discuss. Replacing the anti-terrorism law with a narrower statute will improve the atmosphere for discussions. The law, originally aimed at the mid-80's Sikh rebellion in Punjab, has been applied across India against writers, actors and civil rights protesters as well as potential terrorists. Recently its effectiveness has greatly diminished.

Mr. Rao is now politically embattled. But his two initiatives offer the best hope in years of defusing a dangerous conflict. They deserve active American encouragement.

Is Anyone Investigating Senator Daschle?

The Senate Ethics Committee has been asked to investigate whether Senator Tom Daschle improperly helped a friend in trouble with air safety inspectors. The Transportation Department's inspector general has been urged to look into a related charge against the Federal Aviation Administration. Three months have passed. The committee has not decided what to do and the inspector general's delay is unexplained. It is high time both of them showed some urgency.

Mr. Daschle, a South Dakota Democrat, is the Senate minority leader. His wife, Linda, is deputy administrator of the F.A.A. The friend is Murl Bellew, owner of B & L Aviation, a long-established administrator of the F.A.A. The friend is Murl Bellew. The office manager and her boss deny it. Mr. Daschle says it was, normal service for a constituent. He has also tried, and failed, to have the inspector general's investigation delayed.

Mr. Daschle has recused himself from matters involving his wife's friend. Mr. Daschle got him interested in the inspection problem, and that he heard complaints from other operators. The inspector general of the Transportation Department is involved because an F.A.A. inspector was called on behalf of his wife's friend, Merl [sic] Bellew. The office manager and her boss deny it. Although the head of the F.A.A., David Hinson, asked the inspector general to investigate — and to report in 30 days. That was last February.

Mrs. Daschle has recused herself from matters involving her husband. If not for them, they are also the breeding ground for future audiences for the CIG's. The threatened "contingency budget" omits funding for the program group entirely.
Bosnian Serbs Seize More U.N. Troops

**By Joel Brand**

**Special to The Washington Post**

**MONDAY, MAY 29, 1995**

**BOSNIA, From A1**

The Serbs went after the British peacekeeping troops for political reasons, a U.N. official said. "In their position, they have no choice but to do what they can to elude capture, many under fire. In one instance, several U.N. soldiers were killed in a firefight." The Serbs have taken at least 160 U.N. soldiers prisoner—holding many of them as human shields—and they have another 156 surrounded in small groups at observation posts and heavy weapons collection points.

Serb units also took control today of the last remaining U.N. weapons collection points in their territory and the guns stored there. The move effectively ended the mechanism of a heavy-weapons exclusion zone established by NATO, that had brought 15 months of relative peace to Sarajevo.

The peacekeepers taken today included 33 British and eight Canadian soldiers, including 10 of the last remaining U.N. weapons, flak jackets and helmets at the collection dump and prompted the hostage taking. The British government, after an emergency cabinet meeting, said it would send two artillery batteries and an armored engineer squadron to Bosnia as soon as possible. In a statement, it threatened severe consequences for the weapons, flak jackets and helmets stored there. The weapons, flak jackets and helmets at the collection dump and prompted the hostage taking.

**Croatian Serb forces said they**

**Juppe told French television. "The situation is**

**Stay with the Washington Post**

**THE WASHINGTON POST**

**Bosnia, on A1**

**Sarajevo, Bosnia, May 28—**

By Joel Brand

Sarajevo, Bosnia, May 28—Serb forces tightened their stranglehold on the United Nations peacekeeping force today, taking at least 41 more soldiers hostage as the U.N. command awaited guidance from Western leaders on how to respond to the deepening crisis.

The hostage taking started this morning, a deadline that expired—two capitals—Paris and London.

"We hope that the decision will be made sooner rather than later," a U.N. official said. "We don't like being left in the darkness without any clear guidelines on how to proceed. The risk is that the situation will get out of hand. We can't keep a lid on this for too long."

In Washington, President Clinton's senior foreign policy advisers, including Deputy National Security Adviser Warren Christopher and Secretary Defense William J. Perry, held a two-hour discussion at the White House on a French proposal for reorganizing the U.N. peacekeeping mission.

"Our worry is the use of our strategic planning to avoid the taking of hostages." The advisers reviewed contingency plans that could involve the use of U.S. Marines and other commando units to rescue U.N. peacekeepers who are surrounded by Bosnian Serbs. The United States has promised to help in any emergency withdrawal of peacekeepers from allied nations, and could send up to 25,000 troops to assist in any general withdrawal.

Christopher will fly to The Hague for a meeting Monday of the contact group of major powers—the United States, Russia, France, Germany and Britain. Across Europe, Western leaders held crisis meetings, but no decisions were expected at least until NATO foreign ministers meet Tuesday, also in the Netherlands.

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This morning, Serb troops shelled the northeastern town of Tuzla, killing one man. Of the shells fell in the square where 71 residents were killed Thursday.

The hostages and the Serb threats against peacekeepers remain the United Nations' top concerns. Serb authorities appear to be dictating the future terms of the peacekeeping mission to their liking, without known action.

"Ultimatums and air strikes must be used after reflection and preparation," Juppe said.

"Last Friday's ultimatum and air strikes were not well prepared and exposed the peacekeepers to thoughtless risks." France has the largest troop contingent in Bosnia and the most hostages.

"We are here as peacekeepers," said French Maj. Gen. Herve Gobillard, the U.N. commander for Sarajevo. "We are doing everything we can to stabilize the situation."

He added with emphasis: "But it is not easy. The aircraft carrier Foch left the Mediterranean port of Toulon today to bolster France's forces in the Adriatic."

[William Taylor, a U.N. spokesman, said the Bosnian foreign minister's helicopter came down in a field near the Tuzla airfield, 4 1/2 miles south of Cetinjgrad, just west of the Bosnian-Croatian border, the Associated Press reported.]

[Croatian Serb forces said they downed the helicopter, the Croatian Serb news agency ISKRA reported. The Bosnian government said that a missile hit the chopper over positions held by Croatian Serbs. Also killed was an assistant Bosnian justice minister, an official at Bosnia's embassy in Zagreb, an aide to the foreign minister as well as the helicopter crew.]

Staff writer Michael Dobbs in Washington contributed to this report.

**William J. Perry, head of the U.S. delegation, changed his position on how to protect the lives of his peacekeeping troops for political reasons, a U.N. official said. "In their position, they have no choice but to do what they can to elude capture, many under fire. In one instance, several U.N. soldiers were killed in a firefight." The Serbs have taken at least 160 U.N. soldiers prisoner—holding many of them as human shields—and they have another 156 surrounded in small groups at observation posts and heavy weapons collection points.

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**Thomson Reuters**
U.S. Push for Airstrikes Shown as Miscalculation

By Michael Dobbs

The Clinton administration's decision to push for airstrikes against the Bosnian Serbs is turning into a military, diplomatic and public relations fiasco.

By taking hundreds of peacekeepers hostage, relentlessly shelling "safe areas" that the United Nations has pledged to protect and ignoring a series of international ultimatums, the Bosnian Serbs have shown that they will not be bombed into submission by a few airstrikes. They have called the bluff of the international community, and Western governments are searching for a coherent response.

The initial assumption by the Clinton administration that it would be possible to shore up the credibility of the U.N. peacekeeping force through the use of limited air power has been shown to be a miscalculation. Both supporters and opponents of greater U.S. involvement in what had been Yugoslavia agree that the failure to develop a strategy that takes into account the likely reaction of the Bosnian Serbs has had disastrous results.

"The Bosnian Serbs have now shown to be a miscalculation. The French plan will be discussed today by NATO foreign ministers, including Secretary of State Warren Christopher, at a hastily convened meeting of the international Contact Group on the former Yugoslavia in the Netherlands. A NATO ministers meeting convened for Tuesday to discuss a U.S. initiative for the eastward expansion of the alliance to former Soviet bloc countries will almost certainly be dominated by the crisis in Bosnia and the future of the U.N. peacekeeping mission.

The serious divisions among Western governments over how to respond to the defiance of the Bosnian Serbs is in large part the result of a lack of clear-cut American leadership, according to many analysts. Because of its long-standing refusal to contribute to the U.N. peacekeeping force, Washington has had to defer to London and Paris on many major decisions. "We are now all paying the price for the refusal of the Bush administration and then the Clinton administration to exercise leadership," said Zimmermann. "For a country with the history and traditions of the U.S., non-involvement is not an option.

The refusal to play a major role in peacekeeping began with a decision by President George Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker III in late 1991 to keep out of the conflict as much as possible and encourage the Europeans to take the lead. "We left this administration with an unresolved mess," acknowledged Eagleburger, who played a key role in shaping the Bush administration's policy.

The Clinton administration then failed to carry through on many of the pledges it made to the Muslim-led Bosnian government. There have been numerous occasions over the past two years when President Clinton has talked tough but failed to deliver. Last year, for example, the administration said it wanted to lift the U.N. arms embargo to let the Bosnian Muslims arm themselves, but then backed down under pressure from the British and the French.

Over the last few months, the administration has retreated to the moral high ground, deploiring the failure of the international community to assist the Bosnian Muslims but doing little to help them in practice. Like other Western governments, the Clinton administration has frequently blamed the United Nations for the failure of Western policy in Bosnia to halt the fighting. The cumbersome U.N. bureaucracy and the difficulty of coordinating action between the United Nations and NATO—which is charged with exercising air power—have complicated the mission of the peacekeepers.

But many analysts believe that the U.N.'s decisions have been a reflection of the confused policies of Western powers for taking a "virtual" role in Bosnia. "We should not blame the U.N. so much," said the German ambassador to Washington, Jürgen Chrobog. "The real problem is that we in NATO have not been willing to do more."
As Residents Get Older and Sicker, Nursing Homes Face Cost Squeeze

By Malcolm Gladwell

MURRYSVILLE, Pa. - The ladies of Murray Manor, the wives of the men who worked in the steel mills nearby Pittsburgh, have gathered for lunch. Just two days earlier, they were ranging through the nursing home by feeding tube. Of the others, many will be fed, their bills for the food and the nurses who fed them, from its long-term care budget, and for good reason. Three-quarters of the residents of Murray Manor are Medicaid patients.

Medicaid, among the largest federal entitlements expected to go under the knife, is popularly thought to be the health insurance system for the nation's poor. But that is just a portion of the program's beneficiaries—and the benefits of the patients of nursing homes are the most obvious.

Over the next seven years, while the Senate plan would hold increases to 5 percent a year, that leaves only 2 percent to pay for everything else, and that is less than the rate of inflation. It gets worse. Not only is the number of people in nursing homes growing, but the people living in nursing homes, getting older, sicker and more expensive to care for. As hospitals have attempted to cut costs, they have begun transferring elderly and disabled patients to nursing homes much sooner after a bout of illness or surgery. While hospitals are saving the very sick, nursing homes have become much better at prolonging their lives.

"A Much More Acute Patient"

"We are caring for a much more acute patient than we used to," said Daniel Landis, Murray Manor's administrator. "Ten years ago, when we talked about a feeding tube, that was a major issue. Today we have 17 in this building. Fifteen percent of the 120 people at Murray Manor have never done an IV in a nursing home. You would have called an ambulance, and they would have been in the hospital for six days. Now we do it all the time." Among the 10 percent of the 30 people at Murray Manor are in wheelchairs. Seventy-five percent fall into what is known as Category D, the most serious stage of debilitation, which is expensive and can attract.

Landis said, "the people we're seeing today for a level where 10 years ago they would have been in an intensive care unit." Or, because medicine was not as effective then as it is now, they "would have been dead a year ago." This change is occurring across the country. Twenty years ago, for example, about half of all nursing home patients needed help going to the bathroom. Today, only 1 of 3 do. The redefinition of "can care" has gone from 20 to 25 percent. The people in the program. When it comes to nursing homes, however, possible solutions are so "the failure of the states to plan for costs savings is much more obvious."

"Wringing Water From a Rock"

"I'm surprised, given what you're saying," said Peter Weiner, a health care analyst at the Brookings Institution, "that states have not made much more of a federal mandate to plan for the kind of care that is going to be more expensive and more expensive to care for. As hospitals have attempted to cut costs, they have begun transferring elderly and disabled patients to nursing homes much sooner after a bout of illness or surgery. While hospitals are saving the very sick, nursing homes have become much better at prolonging their lives."
Widening the Income Gap

Tax, Spending Cuts May Add to Inequality

By Steven Pearlstein

For the last 15 years, the gap between rich and poor in America has been growing wider. Now it may be about to get worse. The tax and spending cuts moving through Congress are likely to reduce the after-tax incomes of American families at the bottom of the economic ladder, at least in the short run, while leaving incomes of wealthy Americans largely unchanged, according to an analysis by The Washington Post.

"The poor are being asked to bear a large share of the burden of this economic program, at least relative to their income, at a time when economic forces are already running against them," said Isabel V. Sawhill, who works at the Office of Management and Budget earlier this year and returned to the Urban Institute in Washington.

"Quite obviously these programs would make unequal incomes even more unequal, particularly at the extreme—the very rich and the very poor," Stanford University economist Paul Krugman said.

William A. Niskanen, an economist who is chairman of the libertarian Cato Institute, said that because the rich pay a disproportionate share of federal income taxes and the poor and the elderly receive a disproportionate share of federal spending, almost any bill that reduces the size of the federal government is bound to have the short-term effect of redistributing money to the rich from the poor.

Although few would dispute the general drift toward income inequality in the United States over the last 15 years, there is a lively debate over exactly how wide the gap has grown between rich and poor. Here is a brief guide through this political and statistical minefield:

### INCOME

The basis for most analyses is the Commerce Department's annual calculation of the median household income—the income of the household at the exact middle of the income ladder.

This standard measure, however, has blind spots. Its definition of income, for example, does not include the value of government programs for the poor that do not pay their benefits in cash, such as Medicaid or food stamps. And because it is based on pretax income, median income does not take into account the impact of progressive state and federal income tax rates. The effect of these factors is to overstate the degree of income inequality.

On the other hand, the standard income measure does not include the value of employer-paid payroll taxes, profits from the sale of stocks and real estate or fringe benefits as health insurance and pensions. These are much more significant sources of income for the rich than for the poor. By excluding them, the standard income measure understates the degree of inequality.

Both the Commerce Department and the Congressional Budget Office have alternative measures of income that are intended to correct for these and other biases in the data. But the overall picture is still the same no matter which set of data is used: In recent years the gap between rich and poor has widened.

### HOUSEHOLD SIZE

In this post-Ozzie-and-Harriet world, demographic changes explain some of the measured increase in inequality.

Because people are marrying later and divorcing more often, the percentage of households with only one wage earner is increasing. The statistical effect is to reduce household incomes, particularly in the lower half of the income scale. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of households with children that are headed by women.

At the same time the increase in the rate at which women have entered the work force in the last 15 years has been concentrated in middle- and upper-class households. Statistically, the effect is to raise household incomes at the top more than at the bottom.

The CBS has tried to filter out the impact of demographic changes by constructing a different measure known as "adjusted family income." Using adjusted family income to measure income shares, the CBO found that the share of national income dropped slightly for both the rich and the poor, with a corresponding gain for the middle class.

### WEALTH

While most of the debate over inequality centers on annual income, a recent study for the Twentieth Century Fund called attention to the growing inequality of wealth—the value of the homes, bonds, real estate and savings accounts that people own. Using Federal Reserve Board survey data, economist Edward N. Wolff showed that after 30 years of increasing equality, wealth too began to be distributed more unequally in the late 1970s.

Wealth statistics, however, can be highly unreliable. While the value of publicly traded stocks and bonds is fairly clear, the value of pension assets and residential real estate is not. And the figures are highly sensitive to relative changes in the paper value of different assets. Wolff concludes that much of the recent inequality in wealth is driven by the simple fact that the rich have their money in stocks while the middle class has its money in their homes, and stock prices have been rising faster than real estate prices.

### TIMING

Inequality measures also differ depending on what time period is used. The income gap widened noticeably between 1977 and 1980, more sharply between 1980 and 1985, but then slowly between 1985 and 1992. These variations mostly reflect short-term changes in economic conditions. Not surprisingly, however, partisans in the inequality debate have become adept at carefully picking the time frames that support their ideological positions.

—Steven Pearlstein
INEQUALITY, From All

... Niskanen argues, however, that the long-term economic benefits of more growth, less debt passed on to future generations—eventually will narrow the income gap.

The current drift toward income inequality is a relatively new phenomenon in the United States—but not brand new. And despite the political rhetoric surrounding the issue, economic and government policies have had little to do with the inequity.

Government data show that since the late 1970s the share of national income earned by the richest households has been rising steadily while almost everyone else's shares have declined.

In 1993, the latest year for which government data are available, the highest-earning 20 percent of households—those with annual incomes of more than $60,000—received 48 percent of the nation's aggregate pretax income, up from the 43 percent level that had held for much of the post-World War II era. That five-percentage-point gain of income shares works out to about an additional $1,000 for the average upper-income family.

"By contrast, the 20 percent of households at the bottom of the income distribution—those with incomes of less than $13,000—received 3.6 percent of pretax income in 1993, down from the 4.2 percent level of earlier decades—a $1,200 reduction for the average low-income household.

Most economists say the widening income inequality at the Institute of Southern Studies Institute of Technology economists see it difficult to quantify the forces now reshaping the U.S. economy, such as global trade and rapid technological change. These have had the effect of holding down wages for unskilled workers in factories, retail stores and back offices while boosting pay for college degrees or specialized technical skills.

But other factors also may be at work. Liberal economists cite changes in labor laws that have led to a decline in union clout, a minimum wage that has not kept pace with inflation and excessive pay for corporate executives.

While the debate continues on the extent and causes of income inequality, however, there is little disagreement that the massive tax and spending cuts proposed by the Republican-controlled Congress are likely to accelerate it in the short run.

The Treasury Department calculated that the proposed tax cuts could raise the average after-tax income for families with annual incomes between $75,000 and $200,000 by 2.4 percent—and 3.1 percent for families earning more than that.

At the other end of the scale, among the 1-in-4 American families earning less than $20,000, the tax cuts would add only 0.5 percent to after-tax income.

In a recent report, Jane G. Gravelle, a respected Congressional Research Service tax expert, said that while there is some disagreement among experts over the Treasury Department's projections, there is no disputing the larger point: The Republican tax cuts, she wrote, "tend to make disposable incomes less equal."

On the spending side, calculating the immediate impact of Republican budget cuts on different income classes is, at best, educated guesswork.

For starters, it is unclear how the broad budget targets approved by the House and Senate will be translated into specific policies. Will all Medicare recipients, for example, be forced to pay higher deductibles and co-payments, or only the middle- and upper-class elderly? Will the states make up for reduced federal spending on school lunches and job training?

Even after the policies are known, it is mighty difficult to predict how they might change individuals' behavior or the course of the economy. Will limits on welfare benefits spur recipients to get a job or push them into the streets? Will lower taxes on companies that invest in new plant and equipment boost economic growth and productivity or simply provide a windfall for stockholders?

While such impacts are difficult to predict, data previously published by the Congressional Budget Office and other government agencies make it possible to estimate the short-term effect of spending reductions in some of the biggest government programs that involve direct payments, subsidies or services to individuals. These programs include Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps, farm subsidies, Aid to Families With Dependent Children, Supplemental Security income, college loan subsidies and mass transit subsidies. The programs account for 80 percent of the average-interest spending cuts proposed by the House for 2002, the year by which the House proposes to wipe out the federal budget deficit.

The Post analysis included the direct effect of the tax cuts as well as a half-percentage-point increase in economic growth that the CBO predicts would result from lower interest rates brought on by a balanced budget plan.

The combined effect of these tax and spending cuts would be to shave 7 percent from the after-tax income of families making less than $30,000 in today's dollars—about 40 percent of American households.

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On the spending side, calculating the immediate impact of Republican budget cuts on different income classes is, at best, educated guesswork.

For starters, it is unclear how the broad budget targets approved by the House and Senate will be translated into specific policies. Will all Medicare recipients, for example, be forced to pay higher deductibles and co-payments, or only the middle- and upper-class elderly? Will the states make up for reduced federal spending on school lunches and job training?

Even after the policies are known, it is mighty difficult to predict how they might change individuals' behavior or the course of the economy. Will limits on welfare benefits spur recipients to get a job or push them into the streets? Will lower taxes on companies that invest in new plant and equipment boost economic growth and productivity or simply provide a windfall for stockholders?

While such impacts are difficult to predict, data previously published by the Congressional Budget Office and other government agencies make it possible to estimate the short-term effect of spending reductions in some of the biggest government programs that involve direct payments, subsidies or services to individuals. These programs include Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps, farm subsidies, Aid to Families With Dependent Children, Supplemental Security income, college loan subsidies and mass transit subsidies. The programs account for 80 percent of the average-interest spending cuts proposed by the House for 2002, the year by which the House proposes to wipe out the federal budget deficit.

The Post analysis included the direct effect of the tax cuts as well as a half-percentage-point increase in economic growth that the CBO predicts would result from lower interest rates brought on by a balanced budget plan.

The combined effect of these tax and spending cuts would be to shave 7 percent from the after-tax income of families making less than $30,000 in today's dollars—about 40 percent of American households.

While the debate continues on the extent and causes of income inequality, however, there is little disagreement that the massive tax and spending cuts proposed by the Republican-controlled Congress are likely to accelerate it in the short run.

The Treasury Department calculated that the proposed tax cuts could raise the average after-tax income for families with annual incomes between $75,000 and $200,000 by 2.4 percent—and 3.1 percent for families earning more than that.
Quake Buries Thousands On Far East Russian Island

By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, May 29 (Monday)—A powerful earthquake rocked a large island off Russia's Pacific Coast early Sunday, flattening a remote oil-producing town and burying several thousand residents beneath collapsed apartment buildings.

The quake, measuring 7.5 on the Richter scale, struck the town of Neftegorsk on the Russian island of Sakhalin at about 1 a.m. The Russian Tass news agency reported early today that more than 300 people had been killed and at least 300 injured, but reports from the scene were still sketchy more than 12 hours after the temblor.

[japan's Kyodo news agency reported Monday that 1,500 people were killed and 1,000 injured in the quake. The report from the Kyodo correspondent in the town of Yuzhno Sakhalinsk on the island quoted "an official of Sakhalin province."]

Russian officials said most of the town's 3,200 people had been buried in the rubble of more than a dozen five-story apartment buildings and that rescue efforts were underway. Raisa Mikhailova, spokeswoman for the district center of Okha in northern Sakhalin, told the Associated Press that at least several hundred of those trapped in the collapsed buildings had been pulled to safety by rescue teams or had extricated themselves.

President Boris Yeltsin asked for updates on the disaster every 30 minutes, according to First Vice Minister Oleg Soskovets, who was coordinating the crisis response in Moscow. He flew late Sunday with a team of officials to the scene of the quake—eight time zones and more than 4,000 miles east of Moscow.

"I think this is the worst earthquake ever in Russia," Soskovets told the Reuters news agency in Moscow. "It is a calamity. Judging by the nature of the destruction and the potential number of victims, it looks like the most terrible."

By early today, search teams had recovered 160 bodies, including those of 11 children, while rescuers were responding as swiftly as they could to cries and moans from beneath the tons of debris, Reuters quoted Russian emergency officials as saying.

The Russian news agency Interfax reported that a disco full of young people in a two-story building had been destroyed, and that the local police station also was leveled.

The quake also ruptured an oil pipeline running north from Neftegorsk—which translates as "oil town"—and destroyed a number of oil-well derricks, Reuters reported.

The quake's epicenter was about 90 miles south of Okha and 45 miles south of Neftegorsk, along Sakhalin's west coast. There were reports of some damage to buildings in Okha, but Neftegorsk was said to be far more heavily hit.

Reports here said that more than 200 rescue workers from various points in the Russian far east had arrived in Neftegorsk, along with more than 10 helicopters and more than 10 airplanes carrying supplies and search teams. More rescue parties were reported headed toward the town, where fog and freezing nighttime temperatures were said to be hindering aid efforts.

The earthquake was the third major temblor in the region since last fall. More than 5,000 people were killed in the Japanese port city of Kobe in January, and a quake struck a thinly populated part of the Kuril Islands off the northern tip of Japan in October, killing at least 11 people. In January, Russian officials predicted that another powerful quake would strike the region this year.

Sakhalin, just north of the Japanese island of Hokkaido, is rich in oil, gas, coal, timber and fishing grounds and was closed to foreigners for decades because of its sensitive military bases. In 1983, it was the scene of a tense moment in the Cold War, when Soviet leaders ordered a fighter jet to shoot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007 after it strayed over the island.

All 269 people aboard, including 61 Americans, were killed.

By LAYOUIT W. HARVEY—THE WASHINGTON POST

FINAL

THE WASHINGTON POST
MONDAY, MAY 29, 1995
I ideological War Pits NRA Hard-Liners Against More Moderate Staff

The National Rifle Association, trying to recover from political fallout over its strident fund-raising tactics, is embroiled in a bitter ideological struggle that has pitted those who control its board of directors against the NRA's top staff members.

The latest twist in the internal fight was the May 15 resignation of three of the NRA's top staff members, all moderates, who were forced out because of differences with Neal Knox, who controls the NRA board.

Knox, a conservative anti-gun-control activist and board member, thinks executive vice president Wayne LaPierre, the group's top paid staff member, is not a hard-liner, said former and current NRA officials supportive of LaPierre. Their behind-the-scenes struggle is helping determine how the group lobbies for its causes, expresses its ideas and raises money.

The conservative Knox has helped install on the board in yearly elections most of the 25 open director seats, a majority, since 1991, his allies said.

Last December, Knox wrote a gun magazine column theorizing that the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., as well as mass killings in schools and food restaurants, were committed by "anti-gunners" pressing the gun-control cause.

"It is possible that some of those incidents could have been created for the purpose of disarming people of the free world," he wrote. "With drugs and evil intent, it is possible. Rampant paranoia on my part? Maybe. But there have been far too many coincidences to ignore."

Almost all the 25 directors elected at the NRA's convention in Phoenix last week are Knox allies. He now holds the title of second vice president of the organization, an unpaid position appointed by the board.

While many in the public may think LaPierre is an ideologue because he signed a recent NRA fund-raising letter that called federal agents 'thugs,' he is a moderate compared to Knox and is more politically savvy, said NRA officials sympathetic to his point of view.

Knox's point of view is "no compromise on gun-control laws" because he believes there's a conspiracy by government to disarm us," said another former NRA official.

Wayne LaPierre at center of internal struggle

Last week, Knox's key NRA ally--chief lobbyist Tanya Metaksa--said she knows nothing about staff departures and that the group has no cash crunch.

Knox, a former newspaper reporter, was the NRA's top lobbyist in the early 1980s before he and Metaksa were ousted by a more moderate faction, led by former chief of staff Robert Clark, general counsel Michael Patrick Murray.

Since then his allies have won three of the NRA's top staff positions, including chief lobbyist James Jay Baker, who left last year, and general counsel Michael Patrick Murray.

Friedman's allies are helping determine how the group lobbies for its causes, expresses its ideas and raises money.

The NRA's 400 staff members, most of whom are more politically moderate, tend to be more willing to cooperate with firearms regulators and lawmakers who should avoid association with so-called militia groups and extremists who allege vast murderous conspiracies by federal agencies.

"It is an ideological struggle over how the organization presents itself and conducts itself," said one high-ranking NRA employee. "Neal Knox is shooting the NRA's moderate professional staffers."

The group's headquarters in Fairfax "has the intrigue of the French court in the Middle Ages," said a former NRA employee.

The three employees forced out were all close to LaPierre: chief of staff Albert Clark, general counsel Michael Patrick Murray.

Several other NRA staff members have been forced out or left voluntarily because of strife with Knox, including top NRA lobbyist James Jay Baker, who left last year, said one current official.

Meanwhile, NRA officials said more has plummeted among the politically moderate staff members, particularly those with the group since Knox's ascension in 1991. "They're terrified," said one added. "They see people suddenly told to clean out their desks... the entire staff is on eggshells."

The organization also faces cash problems, the sources said. Dozens of employees who fell off the Republican swept Congress last November with the NRA's help. Historically, NRA fund-raising declines when the group is under attack.

Some new members are joining after recent criticism of the group's statements that Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents are "jack-booted government thugs," recently departed NRA officials said.

But many new members are the kind of well-to-do, well-educated hunters and gun enthusiasts who make up the group's main membership base.

Earlier this month, the NRA lost perhaps its most prominent member when former President George Bush resigned, saying he could not tolerate the group's rhetoric against federal agents.

The full board of directors met in Fairfax, including top NRA spokesman. The group and all its top officials declined to comment on all these matters, saying "that as a matter of policy, we don't comment on personnel matters."

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Knox and Metaksa considered pushing out LaPierre, NRA officials said, but abandoned the idea after he emerged as the group's spokesman in the wake of the April 19 bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma City. But Knox forced LaPierre to fire Clark, Murray and McCabe by threatening LaPierre's own job if he didn't, NRA officials said. "LaPierre has to do whatever Knox and Metaksa say," said Dave Edmondson, an NRA member and former director who heads a dissident faction.

Knox ousted McCabe, a 13-year NRA veteran, because McCabe was close to Carter, who fired Knox from his NRA job in 1982, NRA officials said. Knox used several arguments to push out McCabe, including the allegation that he improperly allowed members to buy firearms that had been donated to the NRA in a dead member's will. Knox said the members in school who should have gone to the NRA's museum.

Other former and current NRA officials strongly disputed Knox's allegations that there was anything untoward in the purchases, saying the museum was only able to offer the guns beforehand, and that it has been longtime NRA practice to sell to members guns the museum does not want. The members later sold the guns back to the NRA.

Knox and LaPierre also have argued about PM Consulting, the direct-mail firm that has helped the NRA gain 1 million members since 1991 and wrote the controversial "thugs" letter earlier this year. PM is headed by conservative direct-mail entrepreneur Brad O'Leary, who was recruited by LaPierre.

Knox has said PM charges too much, but O'Leary said his fees are close to the industry average. "Neal's argument is we don't need all those members, but we need 800,000 to 1 million hard-core members" who will stick with the organization, former PM official said.

Edmondson and NRA officials strongly disputed Knox and LaPierre also have disagreed heatedly about the so-called militia movement. Before the Oklahoma bombing, Knox and his allies argued that NRA leaders should maintain ties to this energized, growing sector of membership. At the convention, LaPierre said the NRA wants nothing to do with any one "who supports or fantasizes about terrorism or insurrection."

To LaPierre's supporters, that statement shows exactly why LaPierre is valuable. "The NRA needs LaPierre," said one NRA executive. "To keep it on an even keel."

Wayne LaPierre at center of internal struggle
Taking the Race to Cyberspace: GOP Presidential Candidates Tangle on the Web

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) may be the front-runner for the Republican presidential nomination, but in cyberspace he's an also-ran.

Dole's nemesis, Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), and former Tennessee governor Lamar Alexander have jumped ahead of the Senate majority leader by being the first two candidates to establish home pages on the Internet's World Wide Web.

That may not seem like much—for much of the electorate it may have no meaning—but in the world of presidential primary politics, every propeller-head counts.

And lest anyone think the rules of play are more genteel in cyberspace, there is already a fight between Alexander and Gramm over who got there first. Alexander's staff swears their man hit the Net before Gramm, but the Texas senator has never been one to claim second best in any contest.

All of this is, as House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) would put it, Third Wave stuff. Soon all the candidates, all the political campaign committees and lots of other people who participate in politics will be communicating through the Web. It has lots of promise, but right now it is rather cumbersome.

The World Wide Web is the hottest spot on the Internet, offering the ultimate in niche marketing and giving users the ability, with a few clicks of the mouse (and sometimes interminable waits), to connect with a vast amount of information, often displayed with attractive graphics.

On Alexander's home page, for example, there's a familiar red-and-black plaid border around his campaign logo and motto. Alexander wore a red-and-black plaid shirt when he announced his candidacy in February and, despite much scorn from the news media, continues to make it his trademark.

But it would be quicker to order a shirt directly from Alexander's Nashville headquarters than wait for the colorful border to load itself on the Web.

There is a wealth of basic information available about each of the candidates: biographies, biographies of spouses, stands on major issues, major speeches, lists of advisers, press releases, you name it.

Gramm and Alexander also offer libraries of photos and video clips, although missing from Gramm's multimedia archive is any sign of "Truck Stop Women," the B movie that allegedly got him interested in investing in Hollywood. Instead, his video library includes "Phil Gramm on the Presidency."

Gramm also has a quote of the day. One was an old quote from former president George Bush: "Phil Gramm's made a difference for the whole country—working, fighting and winning for Texas." Sounds almost like an endorsement, but it's from Gramm's days as a Senate candidate.

For students of presidential political minutiae, Gramm includes a section on straw poll results from 1995. The headline there reads: "Phil Gramm Wins Every Major Straw Poll!" That is news to Patrick J. Buchanan, who bested Gramm in two recent straw polls taken among Arizona conservatives and among Young Republicans in Virginia.

The Buchanan victories apparently did not qualify for Gramm's list of "major" straw polls, such as the Whatcom County, Wash., event in February or the Pennington County, S.D., event that same month.

There is another oddity about the Gramm straw poll page: incomplete information. It only includes results for himself and Dole.

Dole's campaign is determined not to let Alexander and Gramm continue to romp unanswered in cyberspace. "We consider ourselves on the entrance ramp to the cyber superhighway," said Dole press secretary Nelson Warfield, nicely mangling his fiber optic metaphors. He means they'll have a Web site soon, as will several other candidates.

But Warfield said Dole is trying to conserve resources for other elements of the campaign.

The Web would seem a perfect place for California Gov. Pete Wilson (R), who can't talk because of recent throat surgery.

Wilson's campaign is still working on his Internet site, but the candidate is using new technology to get past his voice problem, thanks to a group of Silicon Valley executives who gave him a talking computer.

"He types in a message and the computer speaks," said press secretary Dan Schnur.

So goes the virtual campaign.
Potent Questions From Quiet Justice

Clarence Thomas Speaks Up In Two Significant Sessions

By Joan Biskupic
Washington Post Staff Writer

Justice Clarence Thomas, who is usually silent during Supreme Court oral arguments, spoke up during two important sessions this term. His questions were especially relevant to the court’s only African American justice.

In one case in late April, concerning religious displays in public places, Thomas challenged the notion that a Ku Klux Klan cross is a religious symbol. The conflict before the court began when an Ohio state board denied the Klan a permit to erect a cross on the Capitol grounds in Columbus. The board said allowing the cross at Christmas time would violate the constitutional requirements for separation of church and state.

The state defense rested on a First Amendment clause that says government “shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion.” That provision is often invoked during the holiday season when proposals for putting crosses, menorahs and nativity scenes in public squares arise. In the following exchange between Justice Thomas and the Klan’s lawyer, Benson Wolman, it is referred to as “the Establishment Clause”:

Justice Thomas: “You say that this is a religious symbol. What is the religion of the Klansmen?”

Wolman: “The Klan members hold themselves out in this record as Christians. They hold themselves out as the symbol of history, a symbol of history that many of us may find, at the very least, disquieting. Nonetheless, it reflects a symbol of the Confederate cross, the Scottish clans of the 1300s—it’s not just a religious symbol. It has a variety of meanings, as do most types of symbols.”

Thomas then told Wolman he had asked the question because “so much of the argument is based on the assumption that this cross is a religious symbol. Now, is there testimony to the effect that it is a religious symbol?”

Wolman: “There is testimony as to the mixed purpose...”

Thomas: “Well, if it has... 50 percent whatever other reasons and 50 percent religious, then how does that become a religion case?... What does a burning cross symbolize?”

Wolman: “A burning cross, I believe, would symbolize the general orientation of the Ku Klux Klan against racial minorities, not just you...”

Wolman: “Perhaps some could. The record here indicates, though, there were no security issues.”

Thomas: “But doesn’t the record suggest, though, that there was some concern that people would see more than the religious symbol in that cross?”

Wolman: “Yes, I think that’s true, and that’s a political message, and one very much protected by the Free Speech Clause.”

Wolman: “Could see fire? You mean figuratively?”

Thomas: “That’s right.”

Wolman: “Perhaps some could. The record here indicates, though, there were no security issues.”

Thomas: “But that message doesn’t implicate the Establishment Clause.”

Wolman: “We believe not. The political message does not.”

Thomas: “Do you think that the political message for the Klan overwhelms the religious... considerations?... If I said that a member of the Ku Klux Klan is carrying a cross down Pennsylvania Avenue, would the average person, or the reasonable person, think that the Klan is engaged in an exercise of religion, or a political statement?”

Wolman: “My own personal views, but not in the record, are that I would view it as mostly a political statement, but we... and in fact we believe that the state has used the Establishment Clause as a make-weight in this matter.”

Thomas responded, “So we’re shoe-horning a political case into the religious component of the First Amendment.” And Wolman said, “We believe the state has done just that.”

That exchange prompted Armstrong Williams, a longtime friend of Thomas, to remark recently, “The justice brings a perspective to the court that no one else brings. He was poor. He was discriminated against. Anybody who experiences the kind of racism he has experienced, from the KKK or whomever... the part of you that was affected comes out.”

Thomas also spoke up in a case testing how much state legislatures can consider race when drawing voting districts. Thomas opposes majority-minority voting districts that classify people by race, even if they are intended to boost the political strength of blacks and other minorities.

During the arguments in a Georgia case, Thomas addressed lawyer A. Lee Parks, who was representing challengers to a state voting map that they said segregated voters on the basis of race, in violation of the Constitution’s equal protection guarantees:

“Mr. Parks, let me change the facts just a little... My question is purely political. The State of Georgia is becoming increasingly Republican. [Suppose officials say,] ‘We don’t want to lose the entire state...’ We will create three districts with our most loyal Democratic voters, who happen to be black.’ Let’s say that is the purpose for the three districts [to concentrate Democratic strength]. What is wrong with that?”

Parks said the state would still be using unconstitutional racial classifications that require the highest level of judicial scrutiny.

Thomas has said before it is wrong to assume that all people of one race have the same political interests and has said that the consolidating blacks in one district is “repugnant to any nation that strives for the ideal of a color-blind Constitution.”

Court rulings in both the Klan case, Capitol Square Review and Advisory Board v. Pinette, and the redistricting dispute, Miller v. Johnson, are expected before the term ends in late June.
Streamlining Procurement—Again

House Push for Looser Rules Generates Tension Within Bureaucracy

By Stephen Barr
Washington Post Staff Writer

Elizabeth Salih has worked for the last six years as a front-line contract­ ing officer. But she said she gets more frustration than satisfaction working in the federal procurement system and probably will leave the government next year when she gets her law degree.

Like other contracting officials in the government, she operates under numerous laws and internal regulations that leave her little room to exercise judgment or show personal initiative. "I'm asking you to trust me," she told House members at a hearing last week in a plea for more flexible, innovative approaches to federal purchasing.

Salih's concerns are but one of many criticisms of an out-of-whack system that pays too much for too little. With federal budgets and agency procurement staffs shrinking, Congress and the executive branch are increasingly concerned about the layers of rules and procedures that bury agencies in paperwork while imposing financial burdens on companies doing business with the government.

Last year, the Democratic Congress and the Clinton administration enacted major legislation to simplify the federal procurement system, which spends about $200 billion annually for goods and services. Now, the Republican House has decided to launch a bolder attempt at streamlining federal acquisition, even though the regulation writers are still at work on the 1994 law.

"Some may say we should rest on our laurels ... but clearly the system still cries out for fundamental change," said Rep. William F. Clinger Jr. (R-Pa.), chairman of the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee.

Clinger's committee and the House National Security Committee held a rare joint hearing last week to gather industry and Clinton administration views on the Federal Acquisition Reform Act of 1995. Although industry spokesman seemed surprised that Clinger and National Security Committee Chairman Floyd Spence (R-S.C.) had decided to move a complex bill on short notice, most of their comments were favorable.

A Clinger aide said the bill grew out of a February hearing, when the administration, industry and lawyers offered the Government Reform Committee numerous ideas on how to streamline federal procurement further.

The administration, for example, wanted less congressional micromanagement and greater power for agency contracting officers. Industry reiterated its long-held views about rolling back government rules so that it could sell to agencies like it does to private-sector clients. Other groups complained that existing laws remain too complicated or too confusing, the aide said.

The Clinger-Spence bill, in addressing some of the longstanding complaints, would:

- Replace the requirement that federal agencies conduct a "full and open competition" for a procurement contract with a requirement for a "maximum practicable competition." Agencies now take bids from almost every company that wants a contract, even when some of those companies stand little chance of winning.

Critics contend full and open competition draws out decisions, wastes time and money on the put of bidders and the government and does not guarantee the lowest price or the best value.

The proposed standard would allow federal agencies to accept offers only from companies they deemed qualified to compete "consistent with the particular government requirement." Agencies would, in effect, define "maximum" competition when they put together their pool of bidders.

But some Democrats and industry officials contend the GOP bill needs provision would eliminate audits of contracts awarded for some commercial items.

- Consolidate bid protest forums— the General Services Administration Board of Contract Appeals, the General Accounting Office, the Armed Services Board of Contract Appeals and other agency boards—into a new independent agency called the U.S. Board of Contract Appeals.

Such streamlining, though, also creates anxiety, especially in industries that depend on precise rules to provide equal and fair opportunities to win federal contracts. The contract dollars make up an important part of the regional economy—about $18 billion last year.

The proposed changes also have pointed up tensions inside the government over how to loosen up the system.

At last week's hearing, for example, Steven J. Kelman, administrator for federal procurement policy at the Office of Management and Budget, said creating a single, powerful contract appeals board "will increase lawsuits, not decrease them" and needlessly eat up taxpayer dollars.

Air Force Col. Gary Case echoed some of Kelman's concerns, testifying that the government's "focus on 'protest proofing' a procurement often overshadows what should be a direct focus on what the real requirement is and what the best value decision should be."

Administration witnesses indicated they thought the government too often settles cases with bid protestors, in part because agencies fear the cost of litigation and because they perceive that appeals boards show little deference to agency decisions.

But GSA appeals board chairman Stephen M. Daniels criticized the administration witnesses, saying they presented "extravagant examples" and a "fictionalized view" of how bid protests are handled. He contended in his testimony that the Clinger-Spence bill would make the resolution of disputes over federal contracts "fairer, faster, less formal, more definitive."

House Republicans hope to sort out such conflicting views over the next month and bring the bill to the floor before July 4.
The Case of the $4 Million BMW

Award to Owner of Repainted Car Is at Heart of Punitive Damages Debate

By Joan Biskupic
Washington Post Staff Writer

To understand why many federal lawmakers believe punitive damages awards are out of control, take the case of Ira Gore Jr. and his new black BMW.

Gore’s BMW has become a popular symbol of America’s litigiousness and high jury awards, like the scalding cup of coffee that led initially to a $2.7 million judgment against McDonald’s. While far from typical examples of personal injury lawsuits, they shape the debate over how to change the country’s civil justice system.

What is at stake are claims by injured people against product manufacturers and other businesses, and the big-money judgments the claims sometimes produce. For consumers, the courts can be the last resort for relief and compensation. But for businesses, state juries can be fickle, arbitrary and financially ruinous.

House and Senate conferences will try to reconcile those competing interests this summer as they hash out divergent bills intended to impose a national standard for personal injury cases.

The Supreme Court, meanwhile, has agreed to review whether Gore’s case crossed the line of constitutionality.

In 1990, Gore, a physicist in Birmingham, brought his new BMW 535i four-door to a detailing shop for a “snazzier” look. The shop, Stick Finish, discovered the car had been partly repainted before it was sold to Gore. Gore later found out the refinishing was necessary because the car was damaged by acid rain on its way from the German manufacturer to the U.S. distributor.

Gore sued BMW, and an Alabama jury awarded him $4,000 in compensatory damages and $4 million in punitive damages. (“Punitive damages” refers to money awards over actual damages or compensation for pain and suffering. They are intended to punish malicious and willful misconduct.)

The Alabama jury found BMW guilty of fraud for failing to tell Gore about the paint job, and it based the punitive damages on BMW’s sale of an estimated 1,000 touch-up cars nationwide as new.

The Alabama Supreme Court upheld the jury verdict against BMW of North America but cut punitive damages to $2 million.

“I defy any member of this Senate to read the opinion in this case and tell the American people that justice was done,” Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) said during floor debate this month.

“Go ahead and cite your two or three little cases that sound outrageous,” countered Sen. Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.).

The bill eventually passed by the Senate—a two-week deadlock and the fractious defeat of proposals by Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.)—would cap punitive damages only in cases of faulty products, excluding fraud cases such as Gore’s and many other disputes where punitive damages are far higher than actual damages.

The House version passed earlier would limit punitive damages in all civil cases and prohibit them for manufacturers of drugs and medical devices that had been approved by the Food and Drug Administration.

Andrew Frey, whose law firm is representing several media organizations in a “friend of the court” brief on the side of BMW v. Gore, expected to be argued in October with a ruling by next spring, will test whether a punitive damages award can violate the Constitution’s protection against loss of property without the “due process of law.”

BMW contends its due process guarantee was violated in two key ways: when it was punished by an Alabama jury for transactions outside the state, and because the fine was “grossly excessive . . . a breathtaking 500 times the actual and potential harm allegedly suffered by Dr. Gore.”

Bmw's policy has been not to reveal repairs worth 5 percent or less of a car’s retail price. It has changed the policy.
With a Mighty Roar, Bikers Remember Vietnam’s Dead, MIAs

By Ruben Castaneda
Washington Post Staff Writer

Wearing plenty of military camouflage gear and lots of black leather, thousands of motorcycle-riding Vietnam War veterans roared onto Constitution Avenue NW yesterday to honor fallen comrades and implore the U.S. government to account for more than 2,300 American soldiers missing in action.

In what has become a pre-Memorial Day tradition, the bikers invaded the avenue, parking their motorcycles on the sidewalks and grassy expanses near the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The U.S. Park Police said about 20,000 people, including 10,000 bikers, converged on the black granite wall engraved with the names of 58,000 Americans killed in the war.

Yesterday’s eighth annual Rolling Thunder, as the event is aptly named, was the first since former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara wrote that he knew “the war was unwinnable and unnecessary” but that he never said so publicly despite mounting casualties in Southeast Asia and escalating protests at home.

“He took my precious son from me,” said Marge Kauffman, who joined Vietnam veterans on a bus from Bethlehem, Pa. She is a member of the Bethlehem chapter of the American Gold Star Mothers, a nationwide group of women with sons or daughters who were killed in war.

Kauffman and her friends Ann Doddy and Barbara Horvath, two more Gold Star mothers from Bethlehem, said the clear implication of McNamara’s book—that their sons and others died for no good reason—did not detract from the event.

“The government doesn’t care. I’m here for my son,” said Kauffman, whose son Richard was killed in 1970.

Pa. “You’ve got bitter enemies here, but you won’t see any trouble today,” Spresser rode into Washington on his Trike, a silver, three-wheeled, custom-made $19,000 motorcycle adorned with the words “The Cause” on the front and the POW-MIA symbol on the back.

Contrary to the official U.S. position, Spresser, who served as an Army medic in Vietnam in 1969, said he is certain that American prisoners of war remain in Vietnamese captivity. But other Vietnam veterans weren’t so sure.

Michael Lowe, 45, of Bethesda, said he is skeptical that prisoners remain. He said he is turned off by the “flea market” atmosphere around the Vietnam memorial, where vendors hawk POW-MIA T-shirts, pins and stickers.

As a Marine, Lowe served two combat tours in Vietnam from 1968 to 1970. As he watched the bikers ride by, Lowe wore the Purple Heart and Navy commendation for valor, medals he earned by being wounded four times.

Lowe said he volunteered to serve because he believed the war was righteous, but he changed his mind in Vietnam.

By the end of his tour, “I fought for my buddies and my self-preservation,” Lowe said. “Not for the American flag, apple pie and the girl next door.”

“The government doesn’t care. I’m here for my son.”

—Marge Kauffman, whose son Richard was killed in 1970

Gingrich Rewards D.C. Students for Hitting the Books

Well, it worked, just as House Speaker Newt Gingrich thought it would.

On March 1, Gingrich (R-Ga.) traveled from Capitol Hill to the Buena Vista neighborhood in Southeast Washington to speak with pupils at the Lacy Ellen Moten Elementary School. He urged them to read, and, as an incentive, he promised that they would receive $2 apiece for every book they finished during the next 2½ months. The boys and girls applauded.

The 2½ months ended May 15. The kids’ take: $1,062.

“They were so excited,” said Beverly Reid, the guidance counselor at the school, where at least 397 of the 422 pupils are poor enough to qualify for free hot lunches. Reid, who arranged for the Moten children to participate in the reading program, said the children also were “very, very proud.”

The money came from the Earning by Learning Foundation, a nonprofit organization that Gingrich promotes and for which he has helped raise money.

At the school, he described the program as a simple lesson in capitalism, telling the pupils: “See, you work, then you’ll have some money.”

And now they do. Reid said 120 boys and girls read 531 books supplied by the foundation.

Before being paid, she said, each child had to receive a perfect score on a computerized, 10-question quiz on each book.

Reid said the 10 questions on each quiz were chosen at random by the computer from a large database of questions about each book, so that no two students took an identical quiz.

The top reader: fifth-grader Erica Coleman, who is now $44 richer, having finished 22 books. She and 19 other top readers visited Capitol Hill on May 16 for a “graduation ceremony” in Gingrich’s office, which included pizza, TV interviews and time to relax on the speaker’s balcony, admiring his view of the Washington Monument.

“The first thing that surprised them was that they were getting to go there, because they couldn’t believe it,” Reid said. “They felt it was really a privilege, and they were proud of the attention they get.”

The 100 other students who earned money by reading were awarded certificates in a ceremony in the school auditorium.

“It was a lot of work,” Reid said, “but it was fantastic.”

—Paul Duggan
Coral Reefs: Frontiers Not Even Explored, Already Facing Ruin

By Rick Weiss
Washington Post Staff Writer

They are sumptuous environments, home to hundreds of species of plants and animals, more per acre than almost anywhere else in the planet. They are among the Earth's last great unexplored natural frontiers. And they are endangered: Many are already ruined while others hover on the brink of ecological destruction.

Rain forests? No, coral reefs—colonies of marine organisms that look like rocks but are really plant-animal hybrids. Reefs are attracting the attention of conservation groups, scientists and government agencies just as rain forests first did a decade ago.

"Coral reefs are the rain forests of the '90s," said Christopher Andrews, senior director of biological programs for the National Aquarium in Baltimore. "The concerns are parallel. All hard corals are now endangered. America's reefs are dying. There's all this going on below the sea and no one has been looking there."

At the Baltimore aquarium, the turning tide of attention is evident in a $1 million, 300,000-gallon, ring-shaped installation that reopened last month and rivals the aquarium's popular rain forest exhibit. The tank is part of a major coral reef conservation initiative the aquarium is co-sponsoring with the Nature Conservancy, one of several alliances aimed at moving coral reefs higher in the ranking of environmental concerns.

Punt month, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration released its draft management plan for the Florida Keys, a controversial blueprint for balancing the interests of local fishermen, pleasure boaters, tourists, treasure salvagers, sugar cane farmers and others whose livelihood either depends on or has an impact on Florida's reef system, the third largest on the planet.

Global Cooperation

And today, in the Philippine city of Dumaguete, coral reefs will get international attention as representatives from more than 40 countries meet for the first time to inaugurate the International Coral Reef Initiative. The goal is to foster global cooperation for the sustainable use of these rich biological resources.

"Coral reefs are stunning ecosystems by any measure," said James Pugh, a marine ecologist at the University of Georgia in Athens. With coral reefs, he said, "it's not jobs versus the environment. It's jobs and the environment."

Reefs have all the right stuff to reach superstar status on the environmental stage: Colorful characters (coral reefs occupy a fraction of 1 percent of the Earth's surface but are home to one-quarter of all marine fish species); kooky cohabitation (corals are part plant, part animal); and unusual sexual behavior (male coral polyps ejaculate clouds of sperm into the midnight ocean); and tragedy (many of the world's finest reefs are dying).

But reefs are more than just the latest cause for environmental activists. They are finicky ecosystems that scientists can use as sensitive indicators of water quality changes. Pesticides, silt and fertilizer runoff all take a toll on reefs' health.

Reefs are also economically important. They protect coastlines from wave erosion, help create sandy beaches and harbors, attract tourists and provide food and habitat grounds for one-tenth of all the fish caught for human consumption.

Yet coral reefs are in decline. Ten percent of the world's reefs are dead or damaged beyond the capacity to recover, according to U.S. government reports. At current rates of loss, an additional 30 percent will disappear in the next 20 years. As the reefs die, many of the fish, sponges, sea urchins and algae that add to the reef's life, color and economic value also die or leave.

Some reefs are dying because the energy-providing algae that live inside coral cells themselves are dying. A bacterium that began killing reef algae in the Cook Islands of the South Pacific in 1993 has spread more than 3,700 miles. Scientists recently reported that reefs surrounding Fiji that were completely free of disease in 1992 are now 100 percent infected, and similar diseases have cropped up elsewhere.

No one knows why these coral diseases have emerged in recent years, but the consensus among marine scientists is that most of the loss in coral reef vitality can be traced to human activities.

Kansas a 'Coastal State'

In Florida, for example, Porter has linked declining reef health to increased salinity of the water that flows from Florida Bay to the Keys. The bay has grown saltier in the past decade from diversion of fresh water for agriculture and urban development north of the Everglades, he said. Andrews of the Baltimore aquarium noted that the Midwest floods of 1993 dumped tons of silt on Florida's reefs in part because of poor erosion control in America's heartland. As far as reefs are concerned, he said, "Kansas is a coastal state."

Florida's reefs gained partial protection in 1990 when Congress passed the Florida Keys National Marine Sanctuary Act. NOAA is now gathering feedback on a management plan it created for the sanctuary in collaboration with various interest groups. It includes 10 action plans, some noncontroversial (such as deployment of mooring buoys so boats don't have to drop anchors, and continued monitoring of coral reef health) and some hotly debated (including "zoning" ordinances that would prohibit some activities, such as fishing, in certain areas).

State and federal agencies also are trying to agree on a plan to reduce Florida's fresh water consumption and restore normal salinity levels to the Everglades, Florida Bay and the Keys, although efforts in Congress to rewrite the Clean Water Act may complicate such planning.

Internationally, the United Nations Environment Programme and a half-dozen other conservation organizations recently produced a report outlining the plight of the world's reefs and highlighting the most damaging human activities, including the growing use of dynamite and poisons to catch coral-dwelling fish. The meeting that begins in the Philippines today brings together government officials, commercial interests and environmental groups, and aims to develop coordinated strategies that would help countries profit from their reefs without destroying them. "People are realizing they need a public-private partnership to make this work," said Kathleen Sullivan, a marine ecologist at the University of Miami.

Profits for Preservation

That emphasis on partnership stretches all the way to Baltimore, where a portion of profits from the aquarium's new reef exhibit is going to a Caribbean reef preservation and research project co-sponsored by the Nature Conservancy. "Zoo went through this a few years ago," said Rosemary Krussman, conservation director at the aquarium. "We're not just display facilities anymore."

The Washington Post
Monday, May 25, 1992
China Halts
Missile Talks
With U.S.

Beijing Delays Visits
In Taiwan Visa Feud

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, May 28—China tonight suspended talks with the United States on the control of missile technology and cooperation on nuclear energy, lashing out again over the decision to grant Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui a visa to visit the United States.

In its sternest reaction yet to the visa decision, the Chinese government put off a June visit by John Holm, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and a July visit by a State Department official.

The latest Chinese retaliatory moves touch on an issue dear to American policymakers, who want China to stop missile sales to countries such as Pakistan or countries in the Middle East. U.S. negotiators have been pressing China to make public its past missile sales and appeared to have persuaded China to limit new sales.

Nuclear energy cooperation is limited because of U.S. restrictions imposed after the Chinese military crackdown on democracy protesters on June 4, 1989.

In a brief item carried by the official New China news agency, Foreign Ministry spokesman Shen Guofang charged that the visa for Lee "infringed upon China's sovereignty, violated the principles of the three Sino-U.S. joint communiques and brought serious damage to Sino-U.S. relations."

China asserts that Taiwan is a province of the People's Republic of China and that the U.S. agreement in 1979 to normalize relations with China meant that the United States would downgrade diplomatic relations with Taiwan, ruling out visits by senior Taiwan officials. The Clinton administration, pressed by Congress to grant the visa, has asserted that Lee's visit is not official, but rather a private trip to a reunion at his alma mater, Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y.

Nonetheless, the entry visa ended a longstanding ban on visits by senior Taiwan officials and was seen as a diplomatic victory for Taiwan. Eager to break out of its diplomatic isolation, Taiwan's leaders have used so-called private visits to other nations to circumvent bans on official missions.

The Clinton administration gave in after votes of strong congressional support for Lee's visit and aggressive lobbying by Taipei.

China's latest move was a setback for slowly warming military ties between the two countries.

Aside from human rights, the transfer of sophisticated missile technology has been the most troublesome issue in U.S.-Chinese relations, from Washington's point of view. In August 1993, the United States imposed sanctions because of alleged missile technology transfers to Pakistan in violation of the global Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), a multinational accord regulating export of missile components.

U.S. policymakers were most concerned about the export of ground-to-ground missiles with the ability to carry a payload of more than 1,100 pounds over a distance of more than 186 miles.

Last October, Washington lifted trade sanctions associated with the missile sales. In exchange, Beijing agreed not to export such missiles, though it never acknowledged that it had been doing so.

The two sides had been scheduled to hold further talks on missile testing.

Beijing already has canceled three planned U.S. visits by Chinese officials, including Defense Minister Chi Haotian, and has warned of further reprisals unless Washington rescinds its decision on Lee.

The Clinton administration, in an attempt to assure Chinese leaders, announced its intention to back the renewal of "most favored nation" or MFN status for China, thus giving China the preferential trade status most nations hold. The administration also said it would bar further sales of advanced U.S.-made fighter jets to Taiwan.

Granting the visa to Taiwan's president "infringed upon China's sovereignty."

— Shen Guofang, Foreign Ministry spokesman
Long-Ruling Party Awaits Ire of Voters as Two States Elect Governors

By Tod Robberson
Washington Post Foreign Service

LEON, Mexico, May 28—The ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) braced for the most decisive electoral defeat in its 66-year history today as voters in two key states took up an opportunity to register dismay over President Ernesto Zedillo’s handling of Mexico’s six-month-old economic crisis.

Here in the central industrial and farming state of Guanajuato, conservative National Action Party (PAN) gubernatorial candidate Vicente Fox was poised for a landslide victory over his main opponent, PRI candidate Ignacio Vazquez Torres.

On the other side of the Gulf of Mexico in southeastern Yucatan state, gubernatorial candidates Victor Cervera Pacheco of PRI and Luis Correa Mena of PAN appeared to be running neck-and-neck amid charges by independent observers that the ruling party had attempted to tamper with the vote.

Final tallies of both elections are not expected until Monday. Five independent prediction polls indicated the PAN would win in Guanajuato by an unprecedented 2 to 1 ratio, in sharp contrast to overwhelming PRI victories in two major state elections last year.

Although the almost certain defeat for the PRI here would mark an embarrassing rebuff to Zedillo’s economic recovery efforts, the vote gave the embattled president a chance to make good on pledges to clean up Mexico’s fraud-tainted electoral system. The PRI has never lost a presidential election, while only in the last five years has it begun to concede state and gubernatorial elections. Previous results were tainted.

Both Guanajuato and Yucatan were holding what amounted to special elections because fraud by PRI militants in previous gubernatorial votes had forced the federal government to intervene and appoint interim governors until new elections could be held.

Officials say the president’s law-and-order agenda, along with a public commitment to democratic reform, are among the key elements of his program to recover the billions of dollars in foreign investment that fled the country at the start of Zedillo’s term last December. If cleaning up Mexico’s lawless and undemocratic image comes at the cost of a PRI defeat, a senior official said, so be it.

“The president personally called the governors [of Guanajuato and Yucatan] and warned them against any kind of meddling. He refused to visit either state during the campaign because he didn’t want to give the appearance he was intervening on behalf of the PRI,” the official said.

A hotly contested 1991 election between Fox of PAN and Ramon Aguirre of PRI was so rife with evidence of fraud that, under pressure from then-President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Aguirre resigned. Salinas bypassed the popular Fox, however, and named PAN politician Carlos Medina as interim governor. Fox has openly criticized Medina’s performance in office while characterizing him as a fence straddler.

“A victory by Fox would set the stage for his all but declared bid for the presidency in 2000. Political analysts say the tall and charismatic candidate with the Rock Hudson looks, is a hands-down favorite to become the first opposition candidate since 1929 to unseat the PRI from the presidency.

A victory in today’s vote would complement the PAN’s landslide win over the PRI in the central state of Jalisco last February, just as the effects of the nation’s economic crisis were being felt.

“The timing of this vote is very appropriate because it occurs amid this deep economic crisis and amid a well- pronounced mood of popular unease. It allows the people to take out all their anger, their irritation and frustration through the vote. . . instead of in the streets,” Fox said.

Voters interviewed here reflected that sense of outrage with the PRI and Zedillo’s handling of the economy.

“Until today, I voted PRI,” said Fox supporter Maria de la Luz Medina as she exited a polling booth in the farming village of Los Arcos. “We’re the ones who have been suffering the most, and the [PRI] is not helping. . . . We want a change.”

The economic situation has hurt us badly,” said PRI representative Atanacio Segoviano. “Nobody is getting good prices for their corn. We see no support from the government. So the party is blamed.”

In Yucatan, polls suggested an advantage of only three percentage points by PRI candidate Cervera over the PAN’s Correa. Even before the voting began, independent electoral observers were predicting a repeat of the massive fraud that led to prolonged street protests during the state’s last gubernatorial election, in November 1993. In that race, observers said an orchestrated power failure across 60 percent of the state allowed PRI militants to enter voting precincts and walk away with ballot boxes. Again under pressure from Salinas, a PRI interim governor was appointed pending the new election.

Despite the Zedillo government’s commitment to a clean vote, independent observers said irregularities were apparent in Yucatan even before polling booths opened this morning.

“We have testimony from registered voters that they were offered bribes of money or [food] in exchange for voting for the PRI,” said Cecilia Montes de Oca, president of the Family Civic Front observer organization of Yucatan. “Voters were threatened with the loss of jobs, pensions and scholarships for their children if they didn’t vote PRI.”
Drought Killing Crops In North; U.S. Rejects Call for Extra Water

By Tod Robberson
Washington Post Foreign Service

PROGRESO, Mexico—With an economic crisis already pushing Mexico to the limit of its endurance, a severe drought across the northern half of the country is killing hundreds of thousands of cattle, withering crops and draining the country deeper into debt with the United States.

Senior officials warn that a recent U.S. decision to deny a new loan request from the Rio Grande River—will hamper Mexico’s ability to feed its people.

The loss of crops, they add, will eliminate crucial farming jobs and raise the rate of rising unemployment and, by forcing Mexico to import costly food from abroad, could affect the country’s ability to repay foreign loans.

Moreover, the scramble by both countries to protect dwindling water reserves along their 2,500-mile border appears to be straining the close ties that led to last year’s North American Free Trade Agreement and this year’s $20 billion emergency U.S. loan package to Mexico.

“It’s a classic case of Murphy’s Law. If things can get worse, they will,” said a senior Mexican official, noting the high unemployment, inflation and bankruptcies that have plagued Mexico since the Dec. 20 currency devaluation that sent the country into an economic tailspin.

“The drought has been a real shock to our recovery efforts. With unemployment increasing as fast as it is, it makes for a very dangerous social situation,” he added. “I must say, I’m surprised at the U.S. response to the water-loan request.”

Mexico appealed two weeks ago for Washington’s permission to divert 26 billion gallons of water from the Rio Grande—well beyond the amount to which it is entitled under a 1944 water-management treaty. Mexico has used up all but about 3 percent of its reserve sources in the nearby Falcon and Amistad reservoirs shared by the two countries and has promised to repay the loaned water whenever rains return.

Any such loan—adamantly resisted by south Texas farmers—would supplement the $20 billion package of loan guarantees the Clinton administration organized earlier this year to save Mexico from economic disaster. This time, however, Washington has responded with a definitive no, arguing that a wide swath of southern Texas is suffering from the drought and that there is no water to spare.

“If we pump extra water from the Rio Grande, it will plunge the rice and cotton fields of southern Texas into a tailspin,” said collecting farmer Sara Castellanos, a 54-year-old mother of 14 with a tendency for Bible quotations. “What does Matthew 24 say? ‘There will be famines and pestilence and earthquakes. And all this will be beginning of the sorrows.’ What is happening to us today is the decision of God—and the United States.”

Desperate farmers all along the banks of the Rio Grande have illegally installed pipes and pumps to suck water from the river in hopes of irrigating thirsty crops and averting total financial disaster for the year. Acting on a U.S. request, however, Mexican authorities now are forcing them to shut the pumps down.

“The police came and switched off my pump 10 days ago, without any warning,” Ramirez said. “They wouldn’t even let me run it at night.”

Farther south, where rivers and wells dried up weeks ago, ranchers say at least 300,000 head of cattle have died, while once rich farmlands have turned to dust under the dry heat.

“We are forecasting a loss of around 5,000 jobs just in this area. Without a harvest, we have no money to pay our workers,” said Olvera farmer Jesus Guzman, head of a regional farming organization. “Where these people will go, I can’t say. But in another week or two, if we don’t get some water, they will have nothing to eat and no place to find work. It is logical that some will go north.”

A vagabond farmhand, Renato gave his name as Sarafin, said he was lucky to pull barely 100 yards from the Rio Grande to barely half-grown, brown stubble and sifting through the dust in hopes of finding salvagable ears of corn. “This is not what I came here for,” he said.

Despite the abundance of water nearby, the ground beneath Sarafin’s feet was a patchwork of scaly, cracked soil. “It’s our river too, Who has the right to tell us we can’t use it?”

“It’s basically Texas’s decision,” a U.S. official said, explaining that as the primary American state drawing waters from the Rio Grande, Texas holds effective veto power over Washington regarding water-sharing with Mexico.

“I guess it boils down to a question of resource management,” another U.S. official said. “They have their share, and they can do what they want with it. But it’s really a matter of the Mexicans not planning ahead and managing their water real well.”
Flushed With Pride in Hong Kong

By Keith Richburg
Washington Post Foreign Service

HONG KONG

uch maligned, short-changed and sat upon, the toilet—a k a the can, the throne, the Porcelain God—finally got its due here as the central topic of a just-concluded international conference drawing some 500 delegates.

Yes, the toilet. Or, more specifically, the public toilet.

This is no laughing matter, at least according to the assembled delegates here, who were flush with excitement. To them, the toilet is a cultural icon, a measure of society’s cleanliness and civilization, the standard by which all countries should be judged. In the view of this unusual gathering, the fate of civilizations might well hang on such crucial factors as how well public toilets flush, how much paper is available, and how much toilet paper is available, and how the toilet blends into the surrounding architecture.

“Public toilets should be the concern of every single individual,” said Wang Gung-wu, a Hong Kong professor, in a statement summing up the conference’s meaning, “because cleanliness and standards of hygiene they do or don’t set are truly the measure whereby the standard of a society can be judged.”

Or consider the edict of the Japan Toilet Association, which two years ago held the first such international toilet symposium. Noting how the group has managed to raise public awareness of toilets in Japan, a statement from the association said: “Now we have just started to build the international toilet network. We hope the toilet network will spread over the world.”

Scary stuff, if it weren’t so true. And so necessary.

Few people ever think about public toilets, except in times of emergency. But not so for these conference delegates—architects, urban planners, engineers and the like—for whom toilets are a daily concern.

The symposium, sponsored by the Hong Kong Urban Council, included such topics as design of public toilets, culture and social habits of toilet use, and environmentally friendly or “green,” toilets.

While few people may ever stop to look, public toilets have become centerpieces of modern architecture, from Beijing’s Chinese-style toilets near the city’s best-known monuments, to Europe’s classical loos in Gothic style. Making public toilets blend into the surrounding architecture was a major theme of the conference.

The symposium at the Hong Kong Cultural Center included a photographic display of some of the latest developments in public toilets. There was Hong Kong’s Hing Fat Street public toilet, known for “lots of innovative designs which enhance its function and importance as a ‘rest room.’ ” And from Australia, there was the state-of-the-art Exeloo Unisex Self-Cleaning toilet.

China offered photographic exhibits of its public toilets at the Forbidden City in Beijing, as well as the winner of the most recent Beijing Public Toilet Design competition: a space-age looking facility that somewhat resembled a small McDonald’s restaurant.

There was no clue as to what the winner of the competition might have received.

And from Sweden, of course, being Sweden, there was a display of the “environmental toilet,” a contraption that needs neither water nor a sewage connection; where the waste is kept in tightly sealed packets “for easy hygienic management.”

Delegates also heard the story of Indian toilet czar Bindeshwar Pathak, a crusader for public toilets, who is said to be leading India’s new “clean revolution” and trying to raise hygiene standards there by giving more Indians access to flush toilets and public johns.

The conference even managed to come up with more than a few innovative ideas for the future that could change the way of life for the flushing public in those moments of need. One was the possibility of equipping private cars with toilets under the back seat “which can be used in traffic jams and emergencies, such as an earthquake.”

To solve the problem of vandalism in public toilets, a suggestion was made “to install a more open public toilet in highly visible locations.” Hmmm. So much for the privacy of the moment.

To wind up the three-day symposium, the delegates made a site visit to three Hong Kong public toilets—thoroughly modern, upgraded public toilets that are said to fit in with the modern scheme of the times.

So you still giggle at the thought of a toilet conference? Then consider the warning of Ching Wah-nan, president of the Hong Kong Institute of Architects, to the conference opening: “Let me say candidly,” he intoned, “What comes up, must come down. What goes in, must come out.”

And when it comes out, it becomes the concern of the public toilet designers and architects.
Bosnian Strikes Gold

A Bosnian filmmaker's absurdist epic spanning Yugoslavia's turbulent recent history took the Golden Palm award as the 48th annual Cannes Film Festival came to a close last night. Accepting the best-picture award for "Underground," Emir Kusturica told the crowd: "If you were to ask me why I made my movie, I would say to be loved by you, and I love you. Thank you for understanding this unusual film." Special correspondent Dana Thomas reports from the festival.

The jury's Grand Prize, the second-highest honor at the 12-day festival in the South of France, went to another film about the former Yugoslavia. Greek director Theo Angelopoulos took the award for "The Look of Ulysses," starring Harvey Keitel.

The jury named two Britons for the acting prizes: Jonathan Pryce for his role as the eccentric homosexual writer Lytton Strachey in the Victorian love story "Carrington," and Helen Mirren for her portrayal of Queen Charlotte in "The Madness of King George."

The Golden Camera award, for best new director, went to Iran's Jafar Pahani for "The White Balloon." And the prize for best screenplay went to Frenchman Mathieu Kassovitz for "Hate," a violent black-and-white film about social unrest in the ghettos of Paris.

At yesterday's glitzy final-night screening of Sam Raimi's "The Quick and the Dead," the film's star, Sharon Stone, squeezed into a glittering gold Valentino sheath, waved to thousands of screaming fans as she climbed up the red-carpeted steps of the Palais des Festivals.

Reeve Stable After Fall

Actor Christopher Reeve was listed in stable condition yesterday at the University of Virginia Medical Center in Charlottesville after being thrown from his horse during a competition Saturday. Star of the "Superman" movies, Reeve, 42, owns several horses and was competing with about 300 others when the accident happened. Reeve was approaching the third jump of a 15-jump course when "something spooked the horse," said Monk Reynolds, owner of Commonwealth Park in Culpeper, about 45 miles northeast of Charlottesville. "His horse just stopped dead and threw him." He said Reeve appeared to suffer a neck injury and was carried off the field on a stretcher.

Hospital officials said the actor's family had asked them not to comment. A publicist for Reeve would only state his condition.

First Lady Urges On Grads

Hillary Rodham Clinton's commencement address Saturday at San Francisco State University was warmly welcomed by an audience of nearly 22,000, which interrupted the first lady's remarks several times with thunderous applause. A long banner held by several graduating students read "Hillary for President."

In her speech, Clinton called on the graduates "to take a strong stand on behalf of the importance of education and universities like this." The first lady, who was awarded an honorary doctorate at the ceremony, said she chose to appear at San Francisco State because it "takes the education of all people seriously—women, minorities, immigrants, refugees. Everyone who is willing to work hard and accept responsibility is welcome here."

Also applauded by the crowd was actress Annette Bening, who was honored as San Francisco State's Alumna of the Year.

—Compiled from staff and wire reports by Maria Harper
Chronicles

Farewell Gestures

By Sarah Booth Conroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

In Washington, the Chronicler has noted that along with fund-raisers (political and charitable), book signings and annual dinners, arrivals and departures of potentates are the principal reasons for large parties. So it behooves us all to remember the capital’s unalterable rule: Say goodbye nicely to the departing for soon again they may be the Arriving. Today’s vice consul could be next decade’s ambassador.

Yet seldom are farewells said with such flags, food, fanfare and frankness as the party Nuclear Regulatory Commission Chairman Ivan Selin and his wife, Nina, gave last week for 186 departing diplomats, senators and assorted grandees—wearing black tie and guests—12 ambassadors, four or five senators and his wife, Nina, gave last week for 186 departing diplomats, senators and assorted grandees—wearing black tie and diamonds in the State Diplomatic Reception Rooms’ Benjamin Franklin banquet hall.

The coming-and-going theme applied to both host and guests.

Selin is leaving the NRC to set up a business, Phoenix Energy, with his wife and son, Douglas. The company will explore building non-nuclear power plants in Southeast Asia. The elder Selins, however, will keep their headquarters here.

The Selins’ honored guests, French Ambassador Jacques Andraeni and his wife, Donatella, will be leaving the embassy soon. The other honorés, Japanese Ambassador Takakazu Kuriyama and his wife, Masako (familiarly known as Kimi and Mimi), have no plans to exit.

Kuriyama apologized jokingly for being honored without departing. “Hope you won’t be disappointed we’ll still be around,” he said, despite the rumor that the ambassador and his wife were soon to leave. A large sign of relief was heard in the city’s social circles, for a select 200 or so guests monthly enjoy Mimi’s salon, demonstrations of Japanese culture from tea ceremonies to the arcane calligraphy of shodo—not to mention her hospitality to Washington charities.

Selin said the honored guests were chosen because France and Japan have “the two most complete, and in many ways most interesting, nuclear power programs in the world; after the American program.” ... The French have two kinds of reactors and hundreds of kinds of cheese, whereas in the United States the figures are reversed. The Japanese have set standards for construction efficiency and operational reliability that are the envy of the world.”

Selin has served under four presidents (equally divided between Republicans and Democrats) in august positions in both Defense and State, with a profitable interval as founder of American Management Systems. Money from the latter stint, he said in response to a rude question from the Chronicler, paid for the party. “NRC’s budget has been cut,” he said. “We have no money for parties.” Though the Selins picked up the tab, he said the dinner was “official”—with a color guard and the Army Chorus.

Andraeni and Kuriyama first came to Washington as young foreign service officers, years before their return as envoys extraordinary and plenipotentiaries.

After the dinner, Andraeni told the Chronicler that the date of his departure and the identity of his successor have not yet been settled. Nor does he know for sure what he’ll be doing back in Paris—“consulting, writing, keeping up with our American friends—all those things,” he said.

Donatella Andraeni, like many diplomatic wives she looks forward to once again practicing her profession. The simultaneous interpreter said, “I have kept up with my colleagues.”

Washington charities will miss her enthusiasm and expertise as a simultaneous American-French fund-raiser. Dressed in the best French fashions, she has entertained to benefit the Vieilles Maisons Francaises and Societe Generale, which helped the Corcoran Gallery of Art restore its famous French Salon Dore; the effort that moved the statue of Joan of Arc to a place of honor at the 16th Street entrance to the Meridian Hill Park; and Woodrow Wilson House events commemorating the World War I armistice.

The adieu and adios have another use. The departing diplomat may offer some thoughts—usually diplomatically put—about the United States.

Andraeni told guests, “If you have invited us so gently in this very intimate ambiance, it is because we will know soon the normal fate of the diplomats: moving, and in this case, moving back home.” He spoke of their five-year posting as “full of exciting discoveries, fond memories, passionate debates, beautiful and lasting friendships.”

However, he said, when the United States disagrees with France, there’s more fuss about it than if “any other allied or friendly nation happens to disagree with you.”

“Arrived at the last moment of my career,” he concluded, “I can admit that we happen to be wrong at times, but we like to debate our point.” ... We are very much part of this globalization of the world economy, but we will not cease soon, I think, to be the country with 300 sorts of cheese.”

Media Notes

At ABC, It Still Pays to Speak Up

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Putting the brakes on journalistic buckraking, it turns out, is easier said than done.

ABC’s controversial ban on correspondents making lucrative speeches to corporate groups has proved to be less than airtight. Jeff Greenfield of “Nightline” recently made a $12,000 speech to the National Association of Broadcasters, according to the June issue of American Journalism Review.

Cokie Roberts of “This Week With David Brinkley” was paid substantially more to address the Junior League of Greater Fort Lauderdale, Fla., says the article by Alicia Shepard. But the tab was actually picked up by JM Family Enterprises, a $4-billion firm that is an umbrella company for the largest American distributor of Toyotas.

Both speeches were approved by Richard Wald, ABC’s senior vice president and ethics czar. Wald’s onslaught took effect in January after considerable publicity about a $30,000 speech by Sam Donaldson.

Greenfield, who questioned media moguls Rupert Murdoch and Barry Diller on a panel at the Las Vegas See MEDIA NOTES ‘84, Col. 1...
convention, said that if he is speaking “to our own industry, how can it be a conflict?” A more fundamental question, he says, is how a reporter for a major media organization can cover the media business. “I get paid by ABC,” Greenfield said. “Half of my professional life is a conflict in that sense. ABC has interests in broadcast, print, cable, and we’re big on multimedia. And ABC pays me a lot more money than any lecture does.”

Wald says the speech to the broadcasters’ group passed muster “because it is us,” meaning that ABC is a member. “It would be very hard for a television organization to say we have nothing to do with NAB.”

Roberts says she does not know who paid for her Junior League speech to 1,600 businesswomen in Florida, but that it was “not my problem.” The article says she was paid $35,000, but Roberts, who did not have her records with her, said that figure sounded “extremely high.”

“My contract was with the Junior League,” she said. “It was a totally worthy, female, image-building, nice-lady event.” As for the source of the money, Roberts said: “If I can’t take checks from nonprofit groups that I work for, then I can’t take checks from National Public Radio,” where she also works. “That’s what I do for a living.”

Wald, explaining his decision, said, “We do not have detectives here who figure out where civic organizations get their money. Charities, colleges, foundations and do-good enterprises of all kinds get their money from lots of places. As long as there is no connection whatsoever between the speech being made and the purposes of the organization putting up the money, that’s okay with me.”

Kathy Eggleston of JM Family Enterprises said her firm paid $30,000 toward sponsoring Roberts’s speech but had no role in her selection. She said the company’s benefits included “seating at the head table, media exposure, press releases, talk show interviews, logos on posters, logos on $40,000 worth of advertising... and company banners at the podium,” along with an adjacent trade show booth.

Linda Carter of the Junior League said the company chose to pay Roberts’s fee because “Cokie Roberts was the most exciting thing in our package. They didn’t want to sponsor an unknown speaker for $30,000.”

Time, meanwhile, has become the first of the three major newsmagazines to crack down on correspondents’ addressing corporate groups for cash.

Managing Editor Jim Gaines ordered a flat ban on speechmaking, but modified it slightly two weeks after complaints from the staff. Speeches to civic groups, universities and nonpartisan think tanks are now deemed kosher. “It just seemed the right thing to do,” Gaines said. “The biggest practical difficulty is the appearance of a conflict of interest and the gradual diminution of our credibility with readers, who now see a lot of journalists on TV. It seems more important than ever, as journalists become celebrities, that the print media draw a line.”

Among those affected are such high-profile Time writers as Margaret Carlson, a regular on CNN’s “Capital Gang.” Gaines acknowledged that some staffers are “upset” because “it hits them in the pocketbook.”

But Time will continue to trot out its star writers at luncheons for corporate advertisers. Gaines said Time pays for such appearances and that “no obligations arise from those speeches.”

Footnote: Alan Murray, Washington bureau chief of the Wall Street Journal, has decided that his staffers should disclose their outside earned income, at least within broad categories. A list will be available for public inspection by year’s end. “I’ve always felt it was the right thing to do,” he said. “We have to recognize we’re being viewed with the same cynicism as every other institution in society these days.”

**Headline of the Week**

“CONNIE GOES KA-CHUNG!”—the Philadelphia Daily News on Connie Chung’s ouster as CBS co-anchor.

**O.J. Watch**

With Jay Leno proudly declaring his monologues “O.J.-free,” the media fixation with the Simpson case seems to be waning a bit.

Latest sign: The Times-Georgian of Carrollton, Ga., has barred further coverage of the trial of the century. “Never in my career have I witnessed such a farce and such buffoonery in any news media,” Publisher Pat Cavanaugh said in a front-page announcement. “... A trial is supposed to determine guilt or innocence, not to amuse and titillate. We choose to refrain from running the inane absurdities of the O.J. soap opera until the Fat Lady sings.”

Public reaction, according to Editor & Publisher: Two complaints from disgruntled readers, 10 new subscriptions and 200 supportive letters from around the world.

On the other hand, some news outlets are still milking the case. A Tampa radio station, WFLZ, has put up a dozen billboards touting morning jocks “M.J.” Kelli, “B.J.” Harris and, you guessed it, O.J. “It’s simply a play on words,” B.J. says. “People have gone nuts over it.”
The CIA, still reeling from the Aldrich H. Ames spy case, is investigating allegations it has another embarrassing scandal on its hands.

The latest one is tied to the French spy case that flared up in February but has since drifted out of the headlines. In a rare diplomatic brawl between allies, the French government publicly accused the United States of conducting unfriendly political and economic espionage and called for expulsion of five CIA agents stationed in Paris.

Classified U.S. intelligence reports reveal France's action was triggered by sensitive information gleaned from a female CIA agent in Paris. According to the reports, the agent passed secrets to a French-Brazilian man with whom she was romantically involved in the early 1990s.

"In having her liaison with this French-Brazilian, she told him who the spies were in our embassy, the names of CIA agents in Paris, our safe houses—pretty damaging information," one intelligence source told us.

Knowledgeable sources say the Senate and House intelligence committees are closely monitoring an investigation into the matter by the CIA's inspector general. It is unclear whether the agent deliberately leaked the information for money or just carelessly shared it with her lover.

But intelligence sources say two elements are crystal-clear: The French-Brazilian relayed the information to French government officials, which—in the words of one source—"caused the French to come after us." More important, the CIA identified the agent in 1992, but agency mismanagement let her off the hook and allowed the problem to fester until it exploded onto the front pages in February.

The security breach is certainly not as devastating as the transgressions of Ames, who is serving a life sentence for taking more than $2 million from the Soviets for classified information that compromised the lives of at least 12 Americans. Yet sources say the CIA's mishandling of the French matter is all too similar to its botching of the Ames case. Just as CIA ineptitude let Ames operate undetected for nine years—despite telltale signs he was living far beyond his means—the female agent operated within an agency in desperate need of reform.

"The issue here is that we have another Ames case," one intelligence source told our associate Ed Henry. "The CIA culture wanted to protect this woman rather than really discipline her."

One difference is that Ames was stopped in his tracks when the CIA finally realized what he had done. The female agent was allowed to stay on the CIA payroll even after she admitted her indiscretions. According to one source, the breach came out in a polygraph exam that CIA agents periodically have to take.

But rather than fire the agent, the CIA kept her on a contract basis, allowing her to continue handling sensitive cases for $25,000 a year. Intelligence reports show the CIA claimed it could not fire the agent because she was so distraught that she might have overreacted and leaked even more information.

"She said, 'I will not be fired!' " explained one intelligence source. "So the agency caved in and said, 'Okay, we'll make you a contract employee.' But if you did something wrong, you've got to be fired."

The intelligence reports also buttress American suspicions that then-French Interior Minister Charles Pasqua leaked details of the spy flap to a French magazine in an unsuccessful attempt to swing the recent presidential election. Pasqua was the right-hand man of Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, who was in the race to succeed President Francois Mitterrand.

Although Pasqua has denied the allegation, the reports claim he leaked the story to improve Balladur's electoral chances by drumming up anti-American sentiment and deflecting attention from a separate scandal. Pasqua was expected to be appointed prime minister in a Balladur administration.

"It was obvious what Pasqua was doing," said one intelligence source. "He had this information for a long time about this woman in 1990—telling the French-Brazilian everything, but he was waiting to use it."

Pasqua privately confronted U.S. Ambassador Pamela Harriman in late January, warning about the impending expulsion of the five CIA agents. Harriman tried to defuse the situation, but it leaked to the French press a few days later.

Pasqua's plan ultimately backfired, as Balladur was eliminated in the first round of the presidential election.
Ameria's "media circus," as Howard Kurtz has called it, staged a couple of big acts last week. In one ring was "Kick Out the Old," as the publisher of the Sunpapers of Baltimore announced plans to close down that city's Evening Sun at summer's end. In a second was "Ring In the New," as the Baltimore announced plans to appearance of a mercy killing. The any death, but it has the distinct degenerating into.

The imminent demise of the Evening Sun is as lamentable as any death, but it has the distinct appearance of a mercy killing. The mercy lies not merely in the financial relief to be granted the exchequer of Times Mirror's Baltimore outpost by the elimination of a money-losing property, but in the removal of the possibility of further damage to the Evening Sun's reputation.

It may be impolite to say so at this hour, but the plain truth is that it has been quite a while since the Evening Sun was much of a newspaper. The paper that first distinguished itself in the early centuries of the publishing business enterprises. It is assumed that many newspapers but because of the steady decline of reading in these United States. The blue-collar workers who were once the Evening Sun's principal constituency now come home at dusk and get their news from the television set, perhaps having already spent the workday with the steady howl of talk radio in the background. News transmitted by picture and sound is more readily digested than news delivered by the printed word; more and more Americans are taking the easy way out, in so doing putting all news publications at risk.

This isn't merely an exchange of print for audio and video. It is also a replacement of one culture with another almost entirely different in character. Whatever the faults of newspapers—and it is known many an hour could be spent enumerating them—it is fair to say that they usually place reporting and commenting upon the passing scene ahead of publicizing and celebrating those who report and comment. In the broadcast culture, by contrast, the messenger is all, as we were reminded by last week's extraordinary furor over the switch in talking heads at "CBS Evening News."

The furor was extraordinary not because Dan Rather was in and Connie Chung was out, but because so much perferved attention was bestowed upon the event. One might imagine, from the headlines and the TV reports, that the two most famous movie stars on Earth had committed some unprecedented joint indiscretion, or that the Prince of Wales had been found out making dirty telephone calls to the first lady of the United States. Instead, all the tumult and shouting was about nothing more than a game of musical chairs at what purports to be a news organization.

That anybody in his or her right mind could become exercised over these two people defies my imaginative powers. From the vantage point of the couch upon which this potato reclines, it is quite impossible that there could be, in all of this universe, two less interesting or attractive people than those who reduced us to collective breathlessness last week. One is a combative, slightly loopy male whose mien is beginning to get the shivered-peach look that comes of wearing too much makeup under too many bright lights for too many years; the other is a woman of surpassing tastelessness and self-promotion whose career bears the same relationship to news that Ice T's does to music.

Yet the decision of CBS News to part these two stirred up what Kurtz called in these pages "a media frenzy rarely seen since the Tramps parted company."

Perhaps the explanation as to why the media as now constituted are interested in nothing so much as the media themselves. To an old-fashioned news hound such as yours truly, no recent development in the press is more lamentable than its eagerness to manufacture its own celebrities and to cover them with the same assiduity afforded presidents and popes. It is my belief, based on hunch rather than hard evidence, that the public to some extent shares this revulsion over the press's self-preoccupation.

But the larger culture as well as the media values stardom more than content. It wasn't so long ago that many newspapers declined to give their staff writers bylines, believing that what was reported mattered far more than who reported it. Now they run bylines and, beside them, pictures of the men and women to whom they belong; if they continue to embrace the model of television, perhaps in time bylines and pictures are all they will run. The dowdy old days of the dowdy old Evening Sun aren't just history, they're ancient history. Now it's Dan-'n'-Connie, who's hot and who's not, an endless parade through the pages of People magazine. At the risk of my seeming terminally out of it, let the objection be raised that, whatever all this may be, it has absolutely nothing to do with the news.

**THE WASHINGTON POST**

**MONDAY, MAY 29, 1995**
Letters to the Editor

We Need the Department of Education

The Post's editorial acceptance of a proposal to abolish the Department of Education ["Chairman Kasich's Budget..." May 12] has left at least one startled reader wondering whether the editorial page staff has done its homework. Calling elimination of the department "a good idea," The Post is willing to defend its proposal because it will fit along just fine without a Department of Education, and that its functions can somehow be dealt off to other agencies to perform.

In fact, the Department of Education serves a number of vital functions with no current or prospective counterparts at either the state or local levels or among the other federal agencies. It provides the only truly national perspective we have on innovative approaches to learning, and channels critical financial and technical support to get successful programs up and running in local school districts around the country.

That's an example of a genuinely cooperative federal-state relationship, rare these days and deserving of support.

Richard N. Mott
Arlington

Remembering Les Aspin

Before the justifiably warm remembrances of Les Aspin fade, allow me as one who covered him as defense reporter to tell you what time he was in Washington to recall two of his special characteristics.

First, he understood the press better than the press understood itself. He knew we had oversize egos like himself and other politicians, that we could be cultivated like flowers, and that we didn't like working Sundays to fill up the Monday paper. So many Friday afternoons, especially in his first years in Congress, Mr. Aspin would walk into The Post's city room—and no doubt other city rooms—to peddle his press statements marked for Monday release. It is hard for any reporter or editor to resist talking to a congressman who stands at his desk to chat. And of course Mr. Aspin knew newspapers were always scrambling for news for Monday's paper. Les Aspin initially made his name by press release and went on from there.

Second, Les Aspin was always the compulsive teacher. He wanted you to look through both ends of the telescope with him. I remember him grabbing away my notebook many times as we sat in the anteroom off the House floor to sketch some Pentagon creature, like the Dense Pack deployment for the MX. He wanted you to see the whole picture if he got you to face the process of elimination; and that student could never keep him on schedule if he got a "student" before him, no matter if that student was a reporter, admiral or secretary of defense. The staff much preferred to arrange a telephone call, no doubt to save Mr. Aspin's time, than have you get in the same room with the professor.

Recall that former defense secretary Robert S. McNamara told Senate investigators that he made his first big procurement decision, awarding the TFX fighter plane contract to General Dynamics rather than Boeing, on the back of an envelope—not through any scholarly process. Mr. McNamara, before Vietnam brought him down, was credited with making the trains run on time. Mr. Aspin, as if he had just enough time, had the trains running on time, too. It saved him every day. The Post professed it was forced upon us, why not have Mr. McNamara do it, and the staff much preferred to see the whole picture if he got you to face the process. Yes, the Post opposed the MX, and even in its contrarian view it always gave Mr. Aspin his due.

George C. Wilson
Washington

Pakistan Support for Nonproliferation

The Embassy of Pakistan rejects allegations in Jim Hoagland's op-ed column "Briefing Yeltsin on Iran" [May 17] that Pakistan has assisted the Iranian nuclear program.

Pakistan has at no stage provided assistance or technology of this nature to any country. Pakistan has consistently advocated the nonproliferation of all types of weapons of mass destruction. To achieve this objective Pakistan has advanced several proposals including our willingness to join the nonproliferation treaty provided India does the same. In view of our long-standing opposition to nuclear proliferation, it is false to suggest that Pakistan has had a role in the development of the Iranian nuclear program. It is a baseless charge for which the author offers no evidence.

Syed Rifaat Hussain
Embassy of Pakistan
Washington

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Syed Rifaat Hussain
Embassy of Pakistan
Washington
Personalizing Welfare

For John Ashcroft, the freshman senator from Missouri, trying to reform welfare by reforming government administration of it is like trying to cure lead poisoning by mandating a purer form of lead.

The problem is not so much inefficiency as impersonality, he says. The cure? Find ways to establish "a broader base of human contact between those who receive welfare and the general population."

To that end, the former Republican governor is offering a pair of modest proposals. The first is for a tax credit of up to $500 for people who spend at least 50 hours a year in volunteer work with a charity that serves poor people. The second—far more controversial—would allow states to contract directly with religion-based charities for the delivery of services to the poor.

Both would begin with what Ashcroft insists is necessary: a "clean" block grant system that would send federal welfare money from the U.S. Treasury directly to the states, without passing through HUD, HHS or other federal agencies. The only stipulation he would put on the transfer would be that states must have a work requirement.

This is not some punitive approach of the sort often associated with Republicans, but (I am convinced) a search for a solution to an endlessly vexing problem.

"These ideas are not ideas that I have without reservation," Ascroft told a small group of journalists over sandwiches in his Senate office. "They deal with what I think are very tender, very difficult issues. But I think they are worth discussing and perhaps worthy of implementation."

The easiest case to make (which is not the same as saying it's easy to enact) is for the "clean" block grant. The advantages are that it would "bypass the superintending tendency of the federal government to micro-manage and to regulate and to stifle and to control," while also avoiding the problem inherent in having new approaches administered by the creators and defenders of the old.

Ashcroft, of course, is not the first to believe that state-run charity—welfare—tends to trap the poor people it would help. Social commentators from Alexis de Toqueville to Charles Murray have noted that charity that flows to needy individuals from other individuals or small groups has the power to transform, while charity that flows, more or less mechanically, from the state tends to debase.

The problem has been how to combine the personal touch that gives private charity its special character with the universal access that public charity affords. Ashcroft's tentative solution is to use the taxing and contracting authority of government to draw more individuals into charitable relationships with their neighbors.

But he recognizes that some of the most effective transformation is done by charitable organizations that are spiritually driven: churches, the Salvation Army, Catholic Charities and the like. His proposal would allow states to contract for such services as feeding programs, drug rehabilitation and work training directly with these religion-based agencies—without requiring them to establish separate legal entities or to secularize their operations.

Ashcroft recognizes this as one of the "tender" points of his proposal. "You don't want to finance or otherwise provide a government subsidy for the evangelical efforts of a religious organization," he says, noting that his proposal would expressly prohibit such organizations from forcing their beliefs on any client. But he also argues that it makes no sense to strip a faith-based organization of the very thing that produces its transforming success.

Isn't there some middle ground between "establishing" religion through government contracts and the constitutionally pure fiction that the needs of the poor are exclusively financial?

Can't we at least talk about it?
The GOP’s Civil War

Sometime last Thursday, Sen. Rod Grams of Minnesota made it clear to fellow Republican senators that he’d had enough. They were balking at even minimalist tax reduction. So Grams threw down the gauntlet: no tax cut, no budget resolution. He would vote no on the balanced budget, probably carrying enough Republicans to defeat it.

For neophyte Grams to play power politics in the Senate once would have been unthinkable. A television anchor by profession, he has been a U.S. senator for all of five months, following only two years in the House. But the threat worked. The Senate approved Grams’s amendment: non-binding support for tax cuts. The balanced budget passed shortly thereafter.

This was one battle in a Republican civil war over what tax reduction will pass Congress—the result of which will say much about the party’s future.

“We’re about to go to war with the Senate,” a House GOP leader told associates last week. But more than House vs. Senate is involved. There is also internal confrontation inside the Senate along generational lines.

Most of the 11 Republican freshmen who restored the GOP to the Senate majority were stunned upon induction into the world’s greatest deliberative body. Rookie Sen. Spencer Abraham of Michigan, a former state GOP chairman and congressional campaign committee co-chairman, is a party man who shuns public criticisms. But he was amazed to find senior Republican senators acting as though they were given committee chairmanships by an act of God rather than political revolution.

A case in point is congenial Sen. John Chafee, 72, a former governor of Rhode Island and secretary of the Navy serving his fourth term in the Senate. He was voted out of the Republican leadership in 1990 because of blatant liberalism, but under the rigid Senate GOP seniority system succeeded to the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee’s chairmanship. An ardent environmentalist, he is fighting House Republican deregulatory efforts. He was one of 23 mostly senior Republican senators who voted against Sen. Phil Gramm’s proposal to adopt House-approved tax cuts. Gramm’s futile effort last Wednesday was viewed by the freshmen as an attempt to embarrass his rival for the presidential nomination, Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (who voted for it). Dole, seeking to reconcile Old Bulls and Young Turks, then used his skills to adopt Rod Gramm’s tax cut amendment. But the key senators behind it were two freshmen who, defying ancient Senate tradition, were both seen and heard: Grams and Abraham.

It would have passed by a single tenuous vote had not independent-minded Democratic Sen. Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut jumped the party fence with two other Democrats. On final passage, four Republicans—naturally including Chafee—opposed even this minimalist proposal.

Anti-tax cut hostility persisting among nearly half the Senate Republicans suggests a pre-Reagan mind-set. They have learned nothing from Republican economic blunders under Herbert Hoover and Dwight Eisenhower, insisting on high taxes in the interest of fiscal discipline.

Grams has told fellow Republicans of a private conversation with Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, whose office precludes him from taking sides on partisan issues but who, as a free market economist, has strong opinions. Considering the massive spending cuts, Greenspan said it was essential to cut taxes. The House tax bill was not what he would have drafted, the central banker added, but any tax cut is much better than none.

Policy aside, the Old Bulls insist that people do not really want to pay less in taxes. The normally sensible Sen. William Cohen voted against even the Grams amendment, though he is a Republican deputy whip, on grounds that his sturdy Maine constituents rebel at a single dollar of reduced spending being devoted to tax reduction instead of cutting the deficit.

The reason senators reach such remarkable conclusions is that Republicans, intimidated by Democrats waging the class struggle, have failed to stress the House bill’s major tax relief proposed for ordinary Americans. Whether these arguments would convince anti-tax cut Republicans, some of these senators may face primary election challenges. Before any such showdowns, impatient freshman colleagues are demanding that their influence be diluted by an overdue reform of the seniority system.

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Dark Horse May Make a Presidential Run

For months, speculation about third-party presidential candidates in 1996 has focused on two names: Ross Perot, the Dallas businessman who received 19 percent of the votes in his 1992 White House bid, and Colin Powell, the retired general whose approval ratings make ordinary politicians envious. You can add a third name to the list: Lowell P. Weicker Jr., who retired in January after serving four years as the independent governor of Connecticut.

Powell and Perot have done nothing to discourage their backers' dreams, but neither has made a move toward running. Weicker, by contrast, has begun to advertise his availability and interest.

This week, Weicker is publishing an autobiography called "Maverick," written with former Post editor Barry Sussman. In its final chapter he says that his 1990 victory over the major party nominees in Connecticut supports the view that "a strong, well-known, well-financed independent now more than ever has the potential to win it all."

Current opinion polls confirm what Perot demonstrated in 1992: Millions of Americans disillusioned with the old parties are more than ready to consider qualified independents for high office. Weicker is one of three independents elected as governor in the 1990s.

In an interview, he made it crystal clear that his voluntary retirement after a single, tumultuous term in Hartford did not signal the end of his political career. Now splitting his time between the chairmanship of the international Special Olympics, to be held this summer in Connecticut, and his job with a health care consortium in Virginia, Weicker says he will decide by the end of this year whether to take the presidential plunge: "If I feel I can contribute to the national debate, I'll do it. I'm not bowled over by the proposition."

Although not well-known outside New England and New York, Weicker has rolled up quite a record. A former state legislator and first selectman (mayor) of Greenwich, he served a single term in the House and then in the Senate from 1970 until 1988, when he was upset in his bid for a fourth term by Democrat Joe Lieberman.

Weicker is a thorn in the side of the Nixon White House during the Senate Watergate hearings and carried on a long-running feud with his Greenwich neighbor, George Bush. Growing conservative anger at his stands—fueled by his overbearing personality—contributed to his loss in 1988 and made it prudent for him to form his own Connecticut Party as a vehicle for his gubernatorial bid.

His book and his interview give a clear picture of a Weicker platform. Like Perot, he is fixated on eliminating the deficit and he shares the Paul Tsongas-Warren Rudman conviction that the way to do it is to shelve all talk of tax cuts for now and get busy whittling away at entitlements for the wealthy and the comfortable middle class.

He is fiercely opposed to "tinkering" with the Constitution, whether it be for school prayer, banning abortion or setting term limits. In his term as governor, he pushed through the state's first income tax, cut business taxes and browbeat the legislature into passing one of the toughest gun-control laws anywhere.

In many respects, his views echo those of 1980 independent candidate John B. Anderson, another Republican who fell out of sympathy with an increasingly conservative party. But Weicker is far more accustomed to the pressures of big-time politics than Anderson was and is 10 times as belligerent. In past campaign debates, he has sometimes battered opponents into near helplessness.

If the Republican primaries pull Bob Dole and Pete Wilson to the right, or yield the nomination to any of their more conservative rivals, Weicker is exactly the kind of independent who could cause the GOP trouble—and ease Bill Clinton's path to a second term.

Weicker is admiring of many Clinton policies, but critical of his "wobbly" leadership: For the vaunted Republican "revolution" of 1994, he has only scorn, calling it "a retreat into the past." You get the impression that if his candidacy helped put Clinton back in the White House, he wouldn't grieve at all.
Meg Greenfield

It’s Time for Some Civility

Good, frontal, rough debate is what we should be about

One last pop on this whole question of incivility of discourse, the much argued over issue of whose speech has been more inflammatory and socially destructive than whose. By now we have pretty well exhausted the charges against vaguely defined entities called “the Left” and “the Right.” They did it, the unanimous conclusion seems to be (it is unanimous because nobody admits being an inflammatory Left or Right voice himself) and so the rest of us, having duly called the rabble-rousers to account, can now go home and get on with our normal business.

I say: not so fast. To my mind it is a great hypocrisy for citizens in so many walks of life to be condoning the new verbal incivility of the political extremes while ignoring the rising note of accusation and hostility in so many of our own personal and institutional voices. The name calling and efforts to discredit the rival, as distinct from merely trying to win the contest by working harder or being better or even merely claiming to be better, are in evidence everywhere. The phenomenon may not be so shrill or strident as a call to arms from your local political hotheads, but it exists and has been on the rise for several years. It is a kind of continuous low, nasty, combative shrill or strident as a call to arms from your local political hotheads, but it exists and has been on the rise for several years. It is a kind of continuous low, nasty, combative shrill or strident note of accusation and hostility in so many of our verbal incivility of the political extremes while ignoring the rising note of accusation and hostility in so many of our own personal and institutional voices. The name calling and efforts to discredit the rival, as distinct from merely trying to win the contest by working harder or being better or even merely claiming to be better, are in evidence everywhere. The phenomenon may not be so shrill or strident as a call to arms from your local political hotheads, but it exists and has been on the rise for several years. It is a kind of continuous low, nasty, combative shrill or strident note of accusation and hostility in so many of our

It is a curious turn on this trend that it has also reached the U.S. Congress, despite the survival in speech there of the residual, archaic civilities that never sounded very plausible in the first place and now sound positively bizarre. I am referring to all that oratorical embroidery about how “I yield five minutes of my time to the distinguished gentleman and my good friend from the state of [blank]” and so forth. There is a prescribed formal idiom in Congress that doesn’t sound quite so misplaced when it was accompanied by an earlier prescribed level of minimal courtesy. But now the most personal and abusive things are said on the floor of both houses, and I cannot say it is up to something. A lot of this is owing to the vulgarization of psychoanalytic theory in our day, so that each of us becomes a practitioner, only too willing to diagnose the other person’s actions as the product of some underlying impulse. He is only saying or doing that because... we begin, and proceed to utterly discredit what may even look to others like a relatively decent act. Since nobody escapes forever, we are in a way to turn ourselves into a nation of

Now, each of these manifestations—the product ads, the campaign commercials, the congressional name-calling—is different from the others, some being more and some less abusive. But they add up to an attitude, and we in the media surely participate in it enthusiastically as well, whether as talk-radio scoundrel or more polite but no more respectful writers of decorous prose. And when you consider what is being said by many of those who call in to

Assault has replaced argument in much of our public discourse.

the talk-radio shows or write letters to our publications you hear the same thing: an instantaneous descent from any assumption that the adversary in an argument or—in our case—the public figure we are reporting on, has ever acted in good faith. We seem to be proceeding instead on an assumption of the opposite, that there is probably something totally squarish behind what the other guy is saying or doing—he doesn’t even believe it himself... he is up to something. A lot of this is owing to the vulgarization of psychoanalytic theory in our day, so that each of us becomes a practitioner, only too willing to diagnose the other person’s actions as the product of some underlying impulse. He is only saying or doing that because... we begin, and proceed to utterly discredit what may even look to others like a relatively decent act. Since nobody escapes forever, we are in a way to turn ourselves into a nation of

I don’t want us to sink into some namby-pamby, toothless public discourse. Good, frontal, rough political debate is what we should be about, and skepticism is valuable. But all this sly discrediting of one another as a routine matter, this endless sneering and snickering and reducing of others to a caricature of unworthy motives is not the same thing as that. It is not robust; it is itself cowardly, a form of running from a fight, not facing one. That is because it does not have the guts all confront the opponent’s argument; instead it attempts to discredit and destroy the opponent, to cast doubt on his moral standing to be in the argument at all.

Sometimes I think all this is a consequence of the Soviet Union’s having the bad grace to disappear the way it did. Minus an adversary we could collectively focus on, we have, turned on each other. Sometimes I think it is a result of our political, social and ethnic fragmentation, the abandonment by so many of the idea of a common purpose and our voluntary self-recreation as a collection of mutually resentful groups. But I am not really sold on either of those speculations. The only thing I am sure of is that the whole fabric of civility and respect among ourselves has been ripped to tatters and that it’s not just armed crazies or political screwballs who are responsible. The tone of our public conversation and the quality of our relationships among ourselves are set by the mainstream, not the fringes. And we ourselves, not to mention our sainly political leaders in both parties, could do a lot to change it for the better if we wished.
Stiff Sentences for Crooked Cops

Judge Thomas F. Hogan is a man who takes his responsibilities seriously and has sufficient humanity to lament the stiff sentences he is required to impose on drug and weapons felons. Last Thursday, he expressed particular concern about the penalties that will soon be given to three former District police officers caught in an FBI sting operation. They are young men and first offenders, but unlike nine other officers arrested at the same time who elected to accept the prosecutor's plea bargain offer, these three went to trial, were convicted and must face the unpleasant music. What they now understand is that Congress is dead serious about punishing these crimes.

John Harmon, Troy Taylor and Dwayne Washington were convicted of accepting bribes from an undercover FBI agent, engaging in crimes involving large amounts of cocaine and using guns (though not firing them) in the commission of drug offenses. Congress mandated severe minimum penalties for the latter two offenses, and sentencing guidelines, which judges must use, reflect these congressional mandates. Drug offenses involving this much cocaine, for example, carry penalties of 292 to 365 months when the person convicted has abused a position of trust as these policemen have done. The weapons charges carry a mandatory five years for one offense and 25 for two or more, which was the case here. In addition, these terms must be served after the drug sentence has been completed.

The convicted men in this case may be sent to prison for 55 years. This was an airtight case, complete with hundreds of hours of audiotape and videotape evidence, and the defendants were warned repeatedly before trial, by the prosecutors and the judge, that they faced a terrible penalty. They refused to accept a plea bargain.

Mandatory minimum sentences are often harsh and unfair, and as a matter of principle, judges and the U.S. Sentencing Commission shouldn't be hamstrung by legislators. But that appeal has fallen on deaf ears, and the mood of Congress does not suggest an inclination to ease up. Fifty-five years for a first offense netting only a $2,000 payoff is hard, even for crooked cops. But that's the risk drug traffickers and armed felons take. The smart ones will get the message.

Kathryn Haesler Stone

The days of "massive resistance" to school desegregation in Virginia were extraordinarily mean political times. Few did more to break through the traditional cover of courtliness in the General Assembly and to challenge the prevailing state policy of closing public schools to avoid submitting to desegregation than Kathryn Stone. The first woman elected to the Virginia legislature from Northern Virginia, she would not be silenced. On the contrary, she would be listened to, even if not heeded.

Mrs. Stone, who died at her home in Alexandria at the age of 88 this month, represented Arlington in the House of Delegates—and racial justice in the halls of the state capitol—from 1954 to 1966. She argued forcefully for keeping the schools open and for getting on with desegregation than Kathryn Stone. The first woman elected to the Virginia legislature from Northern Virginia, she would not be silenced. On the contrary, she would be listened to, even if not heeded.

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After the 1960 Census, Mrs. Stone was one of four plaintiffs in a lawsuit challenging Virginia's reapportionment plan. The case reached the Supreme Court, along with lawsuits from other states. The result was a ruling that state legislatures be apportioned on the basis of population, thus permitting greater representation of urban areas.

It took courage, energy and an understanding of the Richmond mind-set in those days to stand up for racial justice. Once Mrs. Stone alone spoke out against a package of bills concocted to stop the NAACP from bringing desegregation lawsuits to court. Arguing that the bills restricted freedom of speech and assembly, she told the House, "You are stooping in panic as you desert the Bill of Rights, which was born in the minds and hearts of the greatest Virginians." The conviction she brought to those same revered values made Kathryn Stone a formidable and respected voice for a more decent commonwealth.
Memorial Day, 1995

BECAUSE THIS month is the 50th May since 1945, television has been airing some old black-and-white documentary films. They show groups of smiling young men, arms around each others’ shoulders, giving the thumbs-up sign. Then they shift to other scenes full of angry puffs of smoke in which men, planes and ships suddenly disappear. Those are valuable films. They remind the country of the price it paid for the victory that made the world in which all of us are living today.

As you watch those films, it’s sometimes difficult to avoid all the familiar uncomfortable what-if questions. What if Britain had not held out when it was fighting alone, what if Hitler had not attacked the Soviets, what if the Japanese had not bombed Pearl Harbor? Above all, what if the United States had remained neutral and, as the highly probable consequence, the other side had managed to win the war?

One difference certainly is that nearly 300,000 young Americans who died in combat between 1941 and 1945 might have lived serenely into normal old age. Another difference is that they and all of us would be living in a much bleaker and more dangerous world, in which American ideas about justice and decency were on the defensive. Democracy might well be confined to the Western Hemisphere, and perhaps only to parts of it. Repression would rule the rest. Relations across both oceans would be hostile and suspicious, as they always are between incompatible ways of life.

As it actually happened, the victory of 1945 was a historical rarity in that it brought even greater benefits to the vanquished than to the victors. It freed Germany and Japan of genuinely evil and destructive regimes and turned their great abilities in directions that have brought their people unimagined benefit. The ideas about governance, law and rights that we honor—if we don’t always do them justice—and, which, ultimately, the war was fought about, have become the world’s standard. Even the despots rarely contest them in principle, usually arguing only that in their precise circumstances the time isn’t quite ripe etc. An increasing number of the world’s nearly 6 billion people live in open societies.

Of all this country’s wars, World War II is most in Americans’ minds this anniversary spring. This country has properly raised many memorials to those who died in it. But the real measure of their legacy is the expansion of human freedom and human rights over the past 50 years, here and throughout the world.

Hustling Congress

THE ONE surprising aspect of the lucrative line-standing business on Capitol Hill, which was written about on The Post’s front page last Wednesday, is that Congress has allowed a practice so demeaning to itself and so contemptuous of the public to go on for so long. As reported by staff writer Mike Mills, lawmakers have permitted private individuals and companies to make money by controlling and selling access to public legislative hearings. This has been going on for years, and it is an abuse of the public interest, if ever there was one.

Here’s how the scheme works: An individual who has no intention of attending a congressional hearing takes a place in line and holds the spot. Sometimes that means queuing up hours before a hearing is scheduled, depending on the newsworthiness of the issues and witnesses. When the hearing is about to begin, the line-stander changes places with a lobbyist or other interested party who has previously arranged to buy the spot in line either directly from the stand-in or from the company that hired him. Reportedly, lobbyists and others attending a House Commerce committee hearing last week paid more than $1,100 apiece for the privilege of getting a seat on the inside. Said one who works for a D.C. law firm in praise of this congressionally sanctioned hustle, “I can go lobby in the morning, grab members and staff while somebody keeps my place in line. It’s cost-effective.” It’s also shabby.

Despite the disadvantage this practice causes their constituents—many of whom travel great distances to see their representatives and senators in action—members of Congress apparently couldn’t care less about what this is doing to both their image and to the general public. A spokesman for the Capitol Police blithely said that as long that no rules or laws are violated, “there is not a need to be rid of this type of activity.” Oh, yes, there is.

Seats in an open congressional hearing should not be for sale, pure and simple. Neither should special interests be permitted to use their money to put members of the public at a competitive disadvantage. You wouldn’t think it necessary to restate that these are publicly subsidized proceedings doing the public’s business. That is until we read what John Likens, a founder of one line-standing company, had to say about the desire of people to attend important events. “The general public is not really interested in what is going on in the day-to-day operations of Congress.” He’s wrong.

There is a way to put a stop to this rip-off and at the same time return fair access to the general public. Congressional committees should be required to issue a nontransferable ticket that admits only the bearer to hearings. And the ticket should come with clear warning, enforced by Capitol Police: If you move, you lose.
Col 1: An estimated 10 million Americans have assumed responsibility for their relatives doing everything from diapers. At least 80 percent of the frail elderly who live at home rely on family members, a number that is expected to grow, demographers say, because the population is aging. (First part of series, will move later.)

Cols 2-4: Art of crash at Indianapolis 500. (Goes with story in Sports.)

Cols 5-6: Serb rebels shoot down a helicopter in disputed Bosnian territory, killing Bosnia's foreign minister; Serbs also capture more U.N. hostages as another day of urgent meetings from Washington to Paris fails to produce any resolution to a crisis that is deepening by the hour. (BOSNIA, moved.)

Above fold:

Col 6: A 7.5 magnitude earthquake strikes Russia's remote Sakhalin Island, leaving at least 300 people dead and burying thousands more under rubble; the Itar-Tass news agency estimates 2,500 people may be dead or injured. (QUAKE-TIMES, moved.)

Below fold:

Cols 2-3: As controversy swirls about the deadly raid on the Branch Davidian compound two years ago, questions continue to mount over the firing of hundreds of rounds of a military-style tear gas into the camp a tactic that in itself may have seriously endangered the lives of children. (WACO, moved.)

Col 4: Voters in two Mexican states choose governors in elections reflect anger over an economic crisis that has slashed the value of the peso nearly in half since December and raised the sales tax to 15 percent. (MEXICO, moved.)

Col 6: The recall of billions of cigarettes faces Philip Morris with unusual public relations problems. (SMOKING, moved.)

Bottom of page:

Cols 1-2: Recently released documents from the Commerce Department show that Secretary Ron Brown may have been rewarding Democratic insiders by including them on trips from Washington to Paris fails to provide this information to you and your kind office."

In a letter last week, Biggs acknowledged that he had mentioned both Bentsen and Strauss, the ambassador to Russia, but said the name-dropping was not intended to bring political pressure to bear on the Commerce Department.

Brown Plays Favorites for Overseas Trade Trips, Papers Show (Washn) By Sara Fritz\(=\) (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON Among the business executives who accompanied Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown on a trade mission to South America last year, E. Glenn Biggs seemed out of place.

Biggs was not the chief executive officer of a major U.S. corporation, like so many members of the delegation. Nor was he one of the minority delegates who were chosen for racial and ethnic diversity.

Rather, the 60-year-old Texas businessman had another qualification that made him a prime candidate for the honor of accompanying the secretary of commerce on the overseas trip: political influence.

In a letter Biggs wrote to Brown on May 31, 1994, asking to be chosen for the trip, he mentioned pointedly that he was a longtime friend of then-Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, as well as of former Democratic Party Chairman and Ambassador Robert Strauss. In passing, he also noted that he recently had lunch with the current treasury secretary of Mexico.

"As I understand, you have proposed a trip to Argentina, Chile and Brazil, which I desire to be a part of," Biggs wrote in his letter, which also included a recitation of his business credentials. "In speaking with the secretary of the Treasury, it was suggested that I provide this information to you and your kind office."
The story of how Biggs and other politically well-connected persons were chosen for Brown's trip is significant because it dramatizes one factor in the increasing skepticism about the aggressive style of this Commerce Department.

By the official criteria established by the Commerce Department, Biggs did not seem to qualify to be a top candidate for Brown's trade delegation.

Records show the two most essential qualifications set for the entourage were the two "D's"-deliverables," such as a pending business deal that could be announced at the end of the trip, and "diversity." In addition, Brown usually demanded that his traveling companions be the highest ranking executives of their companies.

Nevertheless, Brown had no shortage of eager applicants. His files contain hundreds of letters from business people seeking to travel with Brown.

What attracted these applicants was the opportunity to gain stature in the eyes of foreign officials by being introduced by Brown. As these executives see it, it is easier for them to negotiate deals overseas if they have the implied imprimatur of the U.S. government.

Brown's trip also was seen by some executives as a good way to hasten the closure of pending business deals.

"It's like a summit meeting it speeds things along," said Daniel P. Burnham, president of AlliedSignal Aerospace, who concluded a $150-million contract to provide helicopter engines to an Indian manufacturer during his visit with Brown to Bangalore.

Why certain applicants were accepted and others rejected was never explicitly stated in the decision-making memos. But the documents indicate that politics was always a consideration.

One official confided in a memo that Jude Kearney, deputy assistant secretary for trade development at the Commerce Department, had told him "that the politics of the situation were important and he, as a political appointee, would push those that were politically connected." Kearney, an Arkansan and ex-Clinton aide, played a role in the process.

But the person who appears to have exerted the most influence on Brown's decisions was Melissa Moss, the Democratic National Committee's former principal fund-raiser who now runs the department's advocacy center, to assist U.S. companies in competing in global markets.

GOP critics often have complained that Moss' appointment provided a convenient nexus between political influence and export promotion.

(Optional add end)

In addition to Bentens, the many Democrats who contacted Brown and Moss, seeking to influence their choice of persons to accompany the secretary, included Democratic powerbroker and former Rep. Tony Coelho, Sens. John B. Breaux, D-La., and Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C; Los Angeles attorney Johnnie L. Cochran Jr., and then-White House Deputy Chief of Staff Phil Lader.

Their appeals often had an ingratiating tone. For example, R.J. Bartnik, a lobbyist for Raytheon, told Brown: "It was really great seeing you this past weekend. It certainly was like 'old home week' with yourself and Alma (Brown's wife) and the DNC Business Leadership Forum Conference."

Coelho, an expert Democratic fund-raiser, told Moss that "your help means a great deal to me, personally," in obtaining a seat for his boss, James A. Harmon, chairman of Wertheim Schroder & Co. in New York.

From the right people, such entreaties were sometimes all it took to put a name on a trip list. Like Biggs, Coelho's boss was instantly added to the upcoming trip manifest.

Experts Criticize, Defend Use of Tear Gas at Waco (Wash) By Glenn F. Bunting= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON: Since a government raid near Waco, Texas, turned into a fiery disaster two years ago, Attorney General Janet Reno has steadfastly defended her decision to storm the besieged compound of the Branch Davidian religious sect and cited a need to rescue the 21 children inside from unsafe and worsening conditions.

But as the episode becomes the focus of renewed attention in the nation's capital and beyond, fresh questions are centering on certain tactics used by federal agents specifically on the firing of hundreds of rounds of a military-style tear gas into the camp that may themselves have endangered the children. At least two congressional committees plan to hold hearings into the Branch Davidian incident this summer.

At 6:02 a.m. on April 19, 1993, following a 51-day standoff, FBI agents in military tanks advanced from siege lines around the Branch Davidian compound and fired volleys of CS gas inside buildings to immobilize the heavily armed occupants.

The wooden structures were filled with the gas over the next six hours, before the building erupted in flames, leaving more than 80 people dead, including all of the children. Before giving the order to advance, Reno said, she was assured by military experts that CS gas would cause no serious harm or permanent damage to the children of the besieged cult members.

However, it is now clear that medical literature and manufacturer's warnings available at the time dispute that conclusion.

CS gas is potentially so hazardous when applied in confined spaces that California prison guards are cautioned against using it in the cells of unruly inmates. A Los Angeles company suspended sales of CS to the Israeli government in 1988, at the same time that Amnesty International linked the gas to the deaths of Palestinians in homes and other buildings in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories.

Although adults can withstand CS exposure by wearing gas masks, and the Branch Davidian complex was well-stocked with military equipment, no masks were available to properly fit children.

"All of those young children who breathed that gas for hours and didn't have masks would have been in intensive care if they had survived," said Dr. Alan A. Stone, a forensic professor of law and psychiatry who was chosen by the Justice Department to review its performance at Waco and only recently began to speak out. "This seems so clear and apparent that it's hard for me to imagine how the attorney general, whom I have great respect for, could have OK'd this."

The official cause of death for the children, whose bodies were badly burned in the blaze, could not be determined. Smoke inhalation was a leading possibility. However, autopsy records also show some of the victim's bodies contained cyanide, a chemical emitted when CS gas and other substances such as plastic are heated in a fire. Many of the toddlers and infants may have been overcome by the gas before they died, some experts believe.

To the contrary, a government specialist in riot control agents who requested anonymity said scientific studies indicate that it would be "almost virtually impossible" for large quantities of CS to severely injure any of the Davidians, babies included. And Justice Department officials say they doubt that many, if any, Davidians, breathed significant amounts of CS because of strong winds that whipped through large holes knocked in the damaged buildings to insert the gas.

Controversy surrounding the Branch Davidian incident has been fanned by the Oklahoma City bombing on April 19, the second anniversary of the Waco blaze. The leading
suspect in the fatal attack on the federal building. Timothy J. McVeigh, reportedly considered the Waco siege an example of government's intention to crush individual liberties, particularly the right to bear arms. Some conservatives and civil libertarians question whether the full story of the government's actions at Waco have come to light.

Officials at the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, which conducted the initial raid at Waco seeking to serve search warrants related to weapons violations, maintain they have learned painful lessons from their mistakes and adopted changes to ensure they are not repeated.

But the Justice Department has denied being at fault, instead blaming the loss of life solely on Branch Davidian leader David Koresh, who was suspected of stockpiling illegal weapons.

There is much to be angry about when we talk about Waco, and the government's conduct is not the reason," Reno told a gathering of federal law enforcement officers this month. "David Koresh is the reason."

Henry Ruth, a former federal prosecutor who served on the independent board that reviewed the ATF's actions, said he found the Justice Department's review of Waco full of glowing appraisals.

That is appalling to me when children die in a fire and there is precedent for it," said Ruth, citing the five children who burned to death in 1985 when authorities dropped a bomb on the MOVE community building in West Philadelphia. "When they don't learn their lessons, are children going to die the next time?"

The FBI was called in on Feb. 28, 1993, to resolve an exceedingly difficult situation at the Branch Davidian's complex after the ATF raid went awry. As ATF agents stormed the complex, armed cult members opened fire, killing four agents and wounding 15. After negotiating a cease-fire with Koresh, the FBI decided that its principal goal was gaining the release of the children inside, according to the Justice Department review of the incident.

Koresh sent out 21 children and 14 adults through March 23. But the releases stopped and he showed no willingness to surrender.

On the 22nd day of the standoff, FBI officials recommended using tear gas to clear the compound. Three weeks later, on April 12, the attorney general was briefed on the FBI's proposal to use CS gas.

In meetings with military experts, Reno was reassured that the plan to drive out the Branch Davidians with gradual applications of CS gas was safe. They referred to cases of children who had completely recovered within hours of being exposed to CS with no long-term effects.

Reno spent more time weighing the merits of the gassing strategy than any other issue at Waco, said Justice Department spokesman Carl Stern. Among those she consulted was Harry Salem, a toxicologist at the Army's Chemical and Biological Defense Command.

Reno was advised that, although no laboratory tests measuring the effects of CS gas on children had been performed, "anecdotal evidence was convincing" that there would be no permanent injury, according to the Justice report. "The military personnel made Reno feel more confident with the concept of tear gas, as opposed to the original concept in her mind of 'gassing,'" the report said.

The military personnel made Reno feel more confident with the concept of tear gas, as opposed to the original concept in her mind of 'gassing,'" the report said.

Stone, however, issued a scathing 33-page report in November 1993 which the Justice Department declined to make available that criticized the decision to deploy CS at Waco. In the Justice report, Stone wrote, there is no mention during Reno's deliberations that young children do not have the lung capacity to use gas masks.

Reno has discounted Stone's criticism, saying he lacks expertise in the field of toxicology.

The danger of applying CS in enclosed spaces is spelled out in an array of medical literature and manufacturers' reports, including the U.S. Army's guidelines on civil disturbances. Army Field Manual FM 19-15, published in 1985, warns that CS "is not to be used in buildings, near hospitals or in areas where lingering contamination could cause problems."

Kelly Donahue, spokeswoman for Federal Laboratories Inc., which produces CS gas, said the chemical is designed for use in a large, open area. "If you were to shoot too much in a building or enclosed area, you could suffocate individuals," Donahue said.

The widespread use of CS by the Republic of Korea on hundreds of thousands of civilians in 1987 was researched by Physicians for Human Rights. After discovering that civilians suffered serious acute illnesses, sometimes with permanent injury, the physicians group called for banning the use of CS against humans.

"Exposure to high concentrations of tear gas in small, enclosed spaces for 10 minutes is potentially lethal, particularly to infants and children ... " the organization concluded.

Within minutes of the initial delivery of two bottles of CS on the Waco compound in 1993, the Davidians fired automatic weapons at the military armored vehicle, according to the Justice Department report. Two M-60 tanks and four Bradley fighting vehicles responded by launching an all-out assault on all areas of the building. Under the operations plan approved by Reno, the FBI was authorized to escalate the gassing operation if the tanks encountered resistance.

By 6:31 a.m., a half hour after the mission began, the entire building had been filled with CS. For the remainder of the morning, the FBI continued to deliver gas volleys through all openings of the residential structure to increase the pressure on the occupants.

Clive Doyle was inside the chapel when an M-60 tank burst through the front door spraying CS and additional so-called ferret rounds from the Bradley vehicles landed through the windows. While most Davidians in the chapel had gas masks, Doyle said, they only worked for about a half hour before the filters began failing. He said there were loud screams as the gas burned the skin of some people and left others gasping for air.

"The ferret rounds were almost like rockets," said Doyle, 54, who resided at the complex off and on for nearly three decades and was acquitted of all charges at the Davidian trial last year. "They crashed through windows, came whistling past your head and embedded themselves in the wall. You could hear them hissing once they broke open. We were praying to God that somehow we would be delivered."

Doyle said there was "no doubt" the gas poured into an above-ground, concrete bunker where the women members and children had retreated. The 20-by-21-foot bunker, which had been used as a locked vault and food cooler, was waste-deep in stored ammunition.

"The children had no protection from (the gas) being sprayed because there were no windows or major holes," Doyle said. "I can imagine it was agonizing for them without gas masks and being in a cul-de-sac part of the building with no wind."

FBI officials offered a contrasting view. They say that any suggestion that CS could have worked its way through rooms into the bunker is highly improbable.

"They probably would not have had to don gas masks or shed one tear from the CS that would have entered that
bunker," said the government specialist on tear gas.

The charred remains of all 21 children, including at least 10 who were two years old or under, were found in the bunker along with 13 women, 7 men and one fetus. Coroner's investigators determined that mothers put wet blankets around the children and held them in their arms before they died.

Given the large quantities of CS pumped into the building, it would have been very difficult for children to have walked out to safety as envisioned by the FBI plan, some experts say.

"The kids would never have made it," said George F. Uhlig, a retired Air Force lieutenant colonel and professor of chemistry at the College of Eastern Utah who has researched the use of CS at Waco. "Eventually you pump in enough gas and you exclude breathing."

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Calif. Desert Preserves Under Attack From GOP Lawmakers (Barstow) By Frank Clifford= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times= BARSTOW, Calif. If preservationists thought the battle for the California desert ended last year when Congress approved creation of the 1.4 million acre East Mojave National Preserve, they were wrong.

What Congress can give, Congress can take away. And with a new Republican majority in Washington, longtime opponents of the desert preserve are hoping to starve it of funds needed to operate. Already, they have had some success.

At the behest of Rep. Jerry Lewis, R-Calif, who fought the preserve's creation, the House Appropriations Committee has blocked the transfer of over $300,000 that National Park Service officials say is desperately needed to build facilities for visitors and to augment the skeleton staff now busily gearing up to manage the sprawling new preserve.

Lewis also derailed a plan, developed jointly by the U.S. Departments of Defense and Interior, to protect natural resources common to the preserve and adjoining desert lands belonging to several military bases.

In a recent interview with the Los Angeles Times, Lewis described the biodiversity plan "as an attempt by the environmental community to lock up even more of the desert" and prevent the expansion of nearby Fort Irwin Army Base.

In Sacramento, where Republicans may be on the verge of winning a majority in the state Assembly, Republican Assemblyman Keith Oldberg has introduced a resolution calling for Congress and the president to repeal the California Desert Protection Act. Besides establishing the preserve, the act bestowed wilderness status on 3.5 million acres of desert, elevated Death Valley and Joshua Tree national monuments to national parks which affords greater protection and created 4 million more acres of wilderness in those parks.

We believe that the effects on local business and property owners' ability to improve access roads, develop their property or change its character would be subject to Park Service approval, he said.

Explaining his stance against funding the preserve, Lewis said he had no idea whether the 200 acres is a territory slightly larger than the state of Delaware.

"People who have private lands within wilderness have the right to access that property by the same means they have historically accessed it," Jensen's office described some of the challenges.

"The new preserve encompasses more than a million acres of wrinkled mountains, rippling sand dunes, dry lake beds and creosote scrub that were protected as part of the most expensive wilderness bill in the lower 48 states. Rendered by the Nevada state line and Interstates 15 and 40, the preserve was the product of the 1994 California Desert Protection Act .

Lewis, who represents the region and owns land inside the new preserve, for years has championed the cause of land owners, miners, ranchers, hunters and four-wheel driving enthusiasts. They complained that park status would close roads, restrict development and abridge property rights in order to create a man-made wilderness on land used for profit and pleasure with minimal governmental interference for 100 years.

"They've been acting like they own all the land out there," Lewis said, "hassling people in their vehicles and putting up no trespassing signs all over the place."

The Desert Protection Act conferred wilderness status on about 50 percent of the preserve, in effect closing at least 100 miles of roads and jeep trails and barring motorized vehicles on nearly 700,000 acres. Critics say that 5,000 miles of dirt roads and jeep trails have been closed because of wilderness expansion in the preserve, Death Valley and Joshua Tree.

Lewis said that the newly designated wilderness might affect land that he and members of his family own inside the preserve. He said the family holdings amount to 200 acres and a cabin. Forty acres belongs to him, he said.

Lewis said he had no idea whether the 200 acres is surrounded by newly declared wilderness.

"Access is by a very old road," Lewis said. "I don't know whether it runs through wilderness. It wouldn't surprise me if the only way to get to the property now is by helicopter."

But the preserve's superintendent said Lewis and other property owners have not been denied access to their land. "People who have private lands within wilderness have the right to access that property by the same means they have historically accessed it," Jensen said. But land owners' ability to improve access roads, develop their property or change its character would be subject to Park Service approval, he said.

(Original add end)

Compromise between public and private interests was at the heart of the legislation creating the preserve, which passed both houses of Congress and was signed into law by President Clinton.
Serbs Escalate Crisis By Downing Copter, Taking Hostages (Belgrade)By Tracy Wilkinson

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia Bosnia's foreign minister was killed Sunday when his helicopter was shot down over Serb-held territory, and Bosnian Serbs stepped up their campaign of terror against the United Nations.

The commander of the Bosnian Serb army, Gen. Ratko Mladic, told the U.N. commander for Bosnia, Lt. Gen. Rupert Smith, that he could not vouch for the safety of the Britons unless four Serbs captured by the United Nations were returned to the Serbian army.

The French finally regained control of the bridge over the Sava River on Sunday night for a crisis meeting with top officials of the five-nation Contact Group the United States, Russia, France, Britain and Germany that is trying to mediate an end to the Bosnian war.

Ignoring the world's outrage, Bosnian Serbs on Sunday overran four U.N. observation posts outside a U.N. "safe area," the eastern enclave of Gorazde, and captured 33 British peacekeepers, U.N. officials said.

That brought to more than 300 the number of U.N. personnel being held, many of whom have been turned into human shields against further NATO air strikes.

The commander of the Bosnian Serb army, Gen. Ratko Mladic, told the U.N. commander for Bosnia, Lt. Gen. Rupert Smith, that he could not vouch for the safety of the Britons unless four Serbs captured by the United Nations were returned to the Serbian army.

Smith responded that the four will be investigated for war crimes, according to U.N. officials who described the telephone conversation between the two generals.

The four Serbs were captured Saturday in a fierce firefight between French peacekeepers and the Serbs for control of a strategic bridge in Sarajevo. Two French soldiers and four Serbs were killed in the battle, Ivancko, the U.N. spokesman, had said Saturday that a third Frenchman died of his wounds, but on Sunday U.N. officials said a third soldier had not died.

The French finally regained control of the bridge Sunday after the Serbs withdrew.

Lewis said he hasn't decided what his recommendation will be.

The Park Service plans to ask Congress for $2.7 million to operate the East Mojave Preserve in the coming year. Congress will look to Lewis for guidance on the request. Lewis said he hasn't decided what his recommendation will be. "I'm not going to look at it very closely," Lewis said. "What I've seen so far leads me to think the funds might be better used at Yellowstone or Yosemite."

Serbs in neighboring Croatia, who are allied with the Bosnian Serbs, claimed responsibility for downing the helicopter carrying Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic. He was the highest-ranking government official killed in three years of war.

Emboldened by the failure of the world to stop them, Serbs again shelled a Muslim city that was the site of a civilian massacre last week and fired anti-aircraft weapons at NATO reconnaissance warplanes.

Another day of diplomatic consultations and urgent meetings from Washington to Paris failed to produce any resolution to a crisis that is swiftly careening toward disaster. "We hope that we will get some guidance and backing," U.N. spokesman Alexander Ivancko said in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina. "A lot of thought will have to go into our next step, because it will probably be the most important step the international community makes in this century."

North Atlantic Treaty Organization jets bombed Bosnian Serb ammunition depots last week as punishment for the Serbs' failure to turn in heavy weapons they had stolen from the United Nations. But far from being intimidated, the Serbs retaliated with the deadly shelling of Muslim "safe areas" and the rounding up of U.N. peacekeepers as hostages. More than 300 had been seized by Sunday night, many of them French.

Now the United Nations and its member countries must decide whether to renew attacks on the Serbs, risking the lives of the hostages, or to retreat in humiliation and risk the ability of the United Nations to continue as an institution of any value.

Late Sunday, British Prime Minister John Major announced the dispatch of up to 6,000 more troops to the strife-torn area. The commander of the British peacekeeping contingent to defend itself "in view of this much more dangerous environment."

Military specialists noted that the earmarked new forces consisted of artillery and engineering units which could play a vital role if the British and other U.N. forces need to withdraw from Bosnia.

In France, which has the most troops on duty in the Balkans, public opinion blamed the peacekeeper hostages' humiliation, as it is being called there, on the United Nations and the lack of world resolve.

Although France has lost 39 troops in the Balkans since 1992, most French people still believe strongly in the importance of restoring peace to that important region of Europe. To the French, the soldiers coming home in coffins are part of the price the country is willing to pay for peace.

But French President Jacques Chirac is under growing domestic pressure to persuade the United Nations and other Western leaders to take more aggressive diplomatic actions and, at the same time, rewrite the rules of engagement to allow French troops to protect themselves.

President Clinton's foreign policy advisers met Sunday at the White House to discuss the deepening crisis. A spokesman said afterward that Clinton, who did not attend the meeting but was briefed on developments in Bosnia throughout the day, favors increasing the strength of the U.N. force there but not with U.S. troops.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher left for the Netherlands on Sunday night for a crisis meeting with top officials of the five-nation Contact Group the United States, Russia, France, Britain and Germany that is trying to mediate an end to the Bosnian war.

Loosely referred to as a park, East Mojave is technically a preserve because it allows sport hunting, an activity prohibited in national parks. The legislation also left intact 9,000 mining claims, permits to graze 3,500 cattle and hundreds of deeds to private property.

No park in the country, said Park Service officials, has sought to accommodate so many private and commercial uses.

Jensen conceded that the Park Service already has made at least one public relations blunder. After posting signs banning commercial vehicles, residents complained that they were being cut off from food, water, propane and other vital supplies that are routinely delivered by commercial trucks.

The signs were changed to ban commercial traffic attempting to pass through the park.

The fledgling preserve has nonetheless won its share of supporters in nearby communities.

Things are all right, so far," said Rob Blair whose family has been grazing cattle in the East Mojave since the 1880s. "We're getting along fine with them (Park Service personnel). They're nice people."

Officials of San Bernardino County, where the preserve is located, as well as several business owners in Barstow and nearby Baker have appealed to Lewis to stop working against the preserve now that it is a reality.

"I believe the park will help business," said Baker restaurant owner Steve Carter. "We're already seeing about a 15 percent increase in motel occupancy, and it's all because of the park."

The Park Service plans to ask Congress for $2.7 million to operate the East Mojave Preserve in the coming year. Congress will look to Lewis for guidance on the request. Lewis said he hasn't decided what his recommendation will be. "I'm not going to look at it very closely," Lewis said. "What I've seen so far leads me to think the funds might be better used at Yellowstone or Yosemite."

Serbs Escalate Crisis By Downing Copter, Taking Hostages (Belgrade)By Tracy Wilkinson

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia Bosnia's foreign minister was killed Sunday when his helicopter was shot down over Serb-held territory, and Bosnian Serbs stepped up their campaign of terror against the United Nations.

The commander of the Bosnian Serb army, Gen. Ratko Mladic, told the U.N. commander for Bosnia, Lt. Gen. Rupert Smith, that he could not vouch for the safety of the Britons unless four Serbs captured by the United Nations were returned to the Serbian army.

The French finally regained control of the bridge over the Sava River on Sunday night for a crisis meeting with top officials of the five-nation Contact Group the United States, Russia, France, Britain and Germany that is trying to mediate an end to the Bosnian war.

Ignoring the world's outrage, Bosnian Serbs on Sunday overran four U.N. observation posts outside a U.N. "safe area," the eastern enclave of Gorazde, and captured 33 British peacekeepers, U.N. officials said.

That brought to more than 300 the number of U.N. personnel being held, many of whom have been turned into human shields against further NATO air strikes.

The commander of the Bosnian Serb army, Gen. Ratko Mladic, told the U.N. commander for Bosnia, Lt. Gen. Rupert Smith, that he could not vouch for the safety of the Britons unless four Serbs captured by the United Nations were returned to the Serbian army.

Smith responded that the four will be investigated for war crimes, according to U.N. officials who described the telephone conversation between the two generals.

The four Serbs were captured Saturday in a fierce firefight between French peacekeepers and the Serbs for control of a strategic bridge in Sarajevo. Two French soldiers and four Serbs were killed in the battle, Ivancko, the U.N. spokesman, had said Saturday that a third Frenchman died of his wounds, but on Sunday U.N. officials said a third soldier had not died.

The French finally regained control of the bridge Sunday after the Serbs withdrew.

Ljubijankic, the Bosnian foreign minister, was killed along with at least three other government officials and a three-member crew when their helicopter was shot down near northwestern Bosnian town of Bihac, a U.N.-protected
"safe area" where government forces are battling Serbs from Bosnia and Croatia as well as a renegade Muslim faction.

(Original Add End)

The Muslim official was a surgeon by profession, a native of Bihac and was considered a confidant of Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic. He had served as foreign minister for about a year.

Although U.N. officials could not immediately confirm who had downed the aircraft, Serbs fighting to carve a republic in the Krajina region of neighboring Croatia claimed responsibility late Sunday.

In a statement released in Belgrade, the Krajina Serb army said it fired on the helicopter when it crossed over Serb-held Croatia, violating a U.N.-imposed "no fly" zone.

Ljubijankic was the second senior government official killed in the war. Deputy Prime Minister Hakija Turajlic was shot to death in 1993 by Bosnian Serbs at a checkpoint outside Sarajevo. He was under the protection of French U.N. peacekeepers at the time.

Ljubijankic's death outraged Bosnian government officials, who branded it an assassination and terrorist act. They demanded that the world act to stop escalating warfare and the shellings of cities such as Tuzla, another U.N. "safe area" where 71 mostly young people were killed Thursday. Tuzla was shelled again Sunday, leaving one man dead. (error on wire)

Killing of Peacekeepers Will Worsen U.S.-U.N. Relations (Washn) By Stanley Meisler= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON The humiliation and killing of U.N. peacekeepers after last week's air strikes against Serbian targets will surely worsen the Clinton administration's strained relations with the United Nations and France over Bosnia policy.

Only a day before Thursday's bombing, U.S. Ambassador Madeleine Albright disputed the United Nations' longstanding contention that renewed bombing would endanger the lives of its peacekeepers on the ground by exposing them to Bosnian Serb retaliation.

In fact, at a closed-door meeting of the Security Council, she told Lt. Gen. Bernard Janvier of France, commander of the U.N. forces in the Balkans, that the U.S. government believed that air strikes would enhance the safety of the peacekeepers rather than make their situation more dangerous. She argued that bombing would hold or slow down a deteriorating situation in which emboldened Bosnian Serbs were treating peacekeepers with contempt and increasing the pace and violence of the war.

Even after the Serbs started shelling Muslim towns in response to the bombing, Albright tended to downplay the intensity of their retaliation. Interviewed on the "McNeil-Lehrer NewsHour" show on PBS Thursday night, she said: "Frankly, it is not unexpected that there would be this kind of retaliation at the beginning. The Bosnian Serbs kind of flex and then they often do comply." Within a day, however, it became clear that the Serbs did not intend to comply.

The decision to bomb last week was hardly an American decision. The United Nations, NATO, Britain, France and the United States all agreed that it must be tried. And the decision was not made only because of U.S. lobbying by many diplomats and international officials felt it immoral to stand by and allow the Bosnian Serb killing of civilians to go on.

"We are at our wit's end," a senior French diplomat said a few weeks ago. "We have tried everything, and we do not know what to do."

But many U.N. officials and European diplomats had given up the idea of renewed air strikes six months ago when the Serbs detained dozens of peacekeepers in the wake of the bombing of an air base and two missile sites near the Bosnian "safe area" of Bihac. It was U.S. insistence that kept the idea of bombing alive. If the latest air strikes lead to a stalemate, it would thus be easy to blame the United States.

U.N. officials and European diplomats have long resented pressure from the United States on Bosnia-Herzegovina when Washington has no troops there. The French have 3,835 troops in Bosnia, the largest U.N. peacekeeping contingent there.

On Wednesday, Albright was asked by a reporter in the corridor outside the Security Council if she would still be a strong advocate of bombing if there were U.S. troops in Bosnia. The ambassador described the question as hypothetical and refused to reply. When she left, one of her senior aides remained behind to berate the journalist for asking such an "insulting" question. He said that the United States cares deeply about the lives of all peacekeepers, no matter what their nationality.

This issue, however, has been raised in the highest circles. French Prime Minister Alain Juppe dismissed U.S. pressure to bomb several months ago when he was foreign minister. "There is a division of tasks which I don't think is acceptable of having some flying in planes and dropping bombs, and others, especially the French, on the ground," he said.

(Original add end)

U.N. officials have been upset by American criticism of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his Balkans envoy, Yasushi Akashi, for their reluctance to bomb.

In the latest incident, a senior U.S. official said Wednesday that Washington could no longer accept the secretary general's advocacy of "the same old UNPROFOR (U.N. Protection Force), with the same old rules of engagement, the same old reluctance to use air power."

These remarks, which the United Nations called "provocative language," prompted a senior U.N. official to reply, "We should be finding common avenues to a solution instead of inflaming the debate by personal attacks."

U.N. officials also have shown annoyance at the U.S. government for its obvious and continued moral support of the Bosnian Muslims. The officials insist that American support deludes the Bosnian government into believing that some kind of U.N. or U.S. rescue team is on its way. This encourages them to provoke the Serbs, they say.

Janvier, the U.N. commander, shocked some members of the Security Council on Wednesday when he reported that Bosnian government snipers, not Bosnian Serb snipers, were responsible for the deaths of two French peacekeepers several weeks ago. That news strengthened the U.N. view that it is unwise to take sides in this war.

Smuggling Expected to Undermine U.S. Sanctions Against Iran (Dubai)By Robin Wright= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

DUBAI, United Arab Emirates The weathered wooden vessels stretch for miles along Dubai Creek, often three or four moored to a single berth. Despite smothering 104-degree heat, a steady stream of trucks and carts deliver crates of everything from Pepsi to Pampers, Duracel batteries to Black & Decker appliances, all to be packed in the deep holds and decks of the waiting dhows.

Leaning against his boat, Captain Aziz boasted that the Eagle, a creaking dhow with sky-blue trim, last week hauled parts for General Motors cars and Caterpillar earthmoving
Dubai is not the only option for supplying Iran. Land routes via Turkey and sea routes from Oman and Pakistan offer other smuggling alternatives.

Laden with American cigarettes and other light items, giant speedboats from Khasab, on the tip of the Omani peninsula, dart across the Gulf daily to Bandar Abbas. Most of the goods come from Dubai.

"Persians have been among the world's best traders for over 2,000 years. This kind of game they'll play very well," said an Asian commercial attaché.

(Original add end)

Iran's biggest vulnerability is U.S. oil equipment. But weeks before Clinton ordered the sanctions, the National Iranian Oil Co. began scrambling to stock up on American spare parts. When those run out, more probably will become available.

In some cases, agents of Canadian companies visiting Tehran say they will be able to supply Iran with acceptable substitutes for U.S. parts. And when Iran needs specialized American-made equipment, such as drilling bits or turbines, middlemen are likely to find some way to procure them.

Iran is already dismissing the embargo's impact.

"The issue of sanctions is over. It made its little echo and passed away. It was more important for internal U.S. consumption than for its impact on us," said Rajai Khorasani, former U.N. ambassador and now a member of the Iranian Parliament's foreign affairs committee.

Tehran was briefly abuzz with talk of imposing a counter-ban on all American goods to demonstrate Iran's independence, but nothing came of it.

"It was an opinion-making move by hard-line students who take anti-American slogans more seriously than others," Khorasani observed in an interview. "But the parliamentary agenda is already set, and we can't jump into something new. There's no need to respond."

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At Least 300 Dead, Thousands Missing in Russian Quake (Moscow) By Sonni Efron (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times

MOSCOW, May 29 At least 300 people were killed Sunday and hundreds more were feared buried under rubble after a powerful earthquake devastated a small town on Sakhalin Island in Russia's Far East just north of Japan, news reports said.

The Itar-Tass news agency said 300 people were confirmed dead, and officials estimated that up to 2,500 people may have been killed or injured in the 7.5-magnitude quake off Russia's east coast.

The temblor struck at 1:03 a.m. Sunday, flattening about 80 percent of the buildings in the oil-producing town of Neftegorsk, population about 3,200.

About 19 five-story concrete apartment buildings collapsed. Factories crumbled and several fires broke out, local officials said.

"I won't speculate on how many dead or fatally injured people may still be lying under the rubble," Lt. Col. Alexander Mikeyev said in a telephone interview from the Civil Defense headquarters in Yuzhno Sakhalinsk, the island's capital. "The worst thing is that it happened in the dead of night when most people were at home in bed."

The quake also fractured a 60-mile stretch of oil pipeline leading north from Neftegorsk to the city of Okha, 43 miles away, the head of the Sakhalin Marine Oil & Gas Co., Nikolai Borisenko, told Interfax news agency.

Borisenko said oil could be seen leaking from several ruptures. Casualty figures varied widely. By early, Mikeyev said 40 bodies had been recovered. A spokeswoman for the
Ministry of Emergency Situations said 2,500 people were unaccounted for.

Phone and power lines were cut off. In Okha, the shock waves were strong enough to send balconies plunging off buildings, but there were no reported casualties. Officials said 224 injured residents from Neftegorsk, including 42 children, had been taken to outlying hospitals.

Local officials counting survivors reported that about 500 residents who lived in small brick homes in Neftegorsk emerged unscathed.

President Boris N. Yeltsin expressed his sorrow over the tragedy and ordered emergency aid sent to the stricken island. Japan, still recovering from the Kobe quake that killed more than 5,000 people in January, sent condolences and offered assistance. Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama said he had ordered a "thorough assessment" of the damage.

Sakhalin, which lies just north of the Japanese island of Hokkaido, has 750,000 residents on an island about the size of West Virginia. It has been plagued by almost monthly earthquakes, but until now most have been relatively small. As aftershocks of up to magnitude 3.0 jolted the island Sunday, rescue teams from all over eastern Russia rushed to Sakhalin. But heavy fog reportedly prevented some of the 18 airplanes and helicopters from landing.

Among their cargo are food and blankets; overnight temperatures on Sakhalin are hovering around freezing. First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg N. Sokovets, who flew to Sakhalin with other officials Sunday evening, said the cash-strapped central government has allocated 30 billion rubles ($15.9 million) for emergency relief.

(Original add end)

However lethal, the scale of Sunday's damage pales in comparison with the 1988 quake that ravaged then-Soviet Armenia, killing more than 25,000 and leaving more than a million people homeless. That disaster was followed by seven years of economic convulsion and a war with neighboring Azerbaijan, and even today many of the victims of the quake are living with relatives or squatting in half-finished buildings.

Shoddy Soviet-era construction, made more dangerous by cost-saving measures such as adding extra sand to cement, was blamed for the extremely high death toll in Armenia. But Soviet central planning threw up nearly identical buildings everywhere across this vast nation including on Sakhalin, eight time zones and more than 3,800 miles east of Moscow.

The quake in Sakhalin was not unexpected. In February, the Cabinet of former President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, whom many voters in Guanajuato and the University of Guadalajara in a neighboring state as well as by three respected newspapers all showed Fox with more than 50 percent of the vote. Only the ruling party poll showed its candidate leading.

"The vote of punishment" was expected to be a major factor favoring opposition gubernatorial candidates both in the southern state of Yucatan and in Guanajuato, a state that many Mexicans have left to work in the United States.

In Yucatan, the leadership of Fox's National Action Party, or PAN, said their gubernatorial candidate, Luis Correa Mena, was narrowly leading but that the election was too close to call. They announced that with 22 percent of the precincts counted, Correa had 49 percent of the vote to the ruling party's 48 percent.

But partial official returns reported by the state news agency, Notimex, showed the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party with 49.9 percent to the PAN's 43.8 percent.

Opposition victories Sunday could be a warning to President Ernesto Zedillo of how greater democracy and growing dissatisfaction with his administration's economic policies could converge to break the stranglehold on power of his PRI, which has ruled Mexico for 66 years.

"If the elections had been the first of December, the PRI might have won," said Jorge Hidalgo, a Guanajuato member of Alianza Cívica, a national citizens group that monitors elections. "But not now."

In Guanajuato the state that voted most heavily for Zedillo in August and that the PRI nearly swept in December's local elections, a Fox victory is expected to launch his bid to be Mexico's first opposition party president in seven decades.

As governor, Fox is expected to become a major thorn in Zedillo's side by leading a drive for states' rights in this traditionally centralized nation.

Analysts say that much of the 52-year-old Fox's appeal to voters is that he expresses their fury at government mismanagement that led to the economic crisis and at the unpopular measures that followed it.

"I am committed to governing for the whole state," Fox said in declaring victory. "Every democratic triumph proves that the people of Mexico have moved further away from presidentialism and toward true democracy."

Leoncio Gonzalez, a 19-year-old here in Dolores Hidalgo, the birthplace of Mexican independence, said he voted for Fox's PAN because "I think his proposals for solving our problems are better."

In marked contrast to Fox, the PRI's gubernatorial candidate in Yucatan is Victor Cervantes Pacheco, a 59-year-old hard-liner who served all six years in the Cabinet of former President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, whom most Mexicans blame for the financial crisis. He faced the PAN's Correa Mena, a 35-year-old opposition reformer.

"People want a change," car-rental agent Jose Antonio said in Merida. "We need a change."

In Yucatan, the PAN appeared almost certain to keep City Hall and the state capital, Merida, where it was leading by a 2-1 margin. But a series of quick counts were delayed after an election day in which scores of election violations were reported throughout the state.

In rural areas, voters are cautious about openly expressing their desire to punish the government. In the farming village of Las Casitas, in the Sierra Madre range one of the poorest areas of Guanajuato armed police watched as voters entered the schoolhouse to vote.

"There is a mixture of anger and fear," said one man, one of the few who would speak and then only on the condition he not be identified. "Who knows how it will turn out."

Many voters in Guanajuato appeared to have decided to
express their anger by staying home to watch the national soccer championship semifinals rather than going to the polls. Voter turnout in the state was low, with only about 45 percent of registered voters casting ballots, according to the university survey.

In Yucatan, more than 60 percent of the registered voters cast ballots, according to Ana Rosa Payan, state chairwoman of the PAN and mayor of Merida.

"Abstention reflects the economic situation that most of the country is living through," said Domingo Velazquez, a 32-year-old teacher in Dolores Hidalgo.

At the precinct where Velazquez was a polling official, fewer than 160 of the 506 registered voters had cast ballots by midaftemoon. "People suspect that the devaluation (of the peso) was postponed until after the local elections in December, and they feel as if they were tricked," he said.

Nevertheless, he said he continues to believe in the power of the vote, even though his mayoral candidate lost in the PRI sweep in December. "Competition between the parties has improved local services," he said.

Still, the message of democracy has not reached all political activists in the two states. Observer groups in both places reported minor election law violations. One polling place in Yucatan reported its ballot boxes stolen.

"There's a lot of tension here" between the PRI and PAN, opposition poll watcher Perpetua Elide Pech de Chan said in the village of Kini, accusing local PRI bosses of threatening to take away voters' monthly food subsidies if they voted for the opposition.

Besides the threats, there were the promises. A garbage dump that is home to thousands of squatters in the Yucatan port town of Progreso was fertile ground for the ruling party allows them to remain.

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Benjamin Netanyahu, the leader of the opposition Likud party, went to the Golan on Sunday to declare that giving it back would be tantamount to surrendering Israel to its Arab enemies. Likud lawmaker Uzi Landau went so far as to advise Israeli soldiers that they should disobey any government order to evacuate Golan settlements.

Rafael Eitan, the leader of the far-right Tzomet party in the Parliament, also visited the Golan on Sunday and said that "someone who has vision is a person who establishes settlements, not a person who evacuates them."
Top aides in House paid over $100,000
Some salaries rival lawmakers'

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

While Republicans and Democrats in Congress disagree when it comes to political and legislative issues, they agree on one important matter: high pay for senior aides who do their bidding.

More than 20 top aides to House leaders are earning $122,932 a year, according to congressional payroll records. They include six aides each to House Speaker Newt Gingrich, Georgia Republican, and House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt, Missouri Democrat.

Mr. Gingrich's annual pay is $171,600, while Mr. Gephardt and House Majority Leader Dick Armey, Texas Republican, earn $148,400. The annual salary for rank-and-file House members is $133,600.

Also receiving the top staff salary of $122,932 are eight senior House officers, two aides to Mr. Armey, and one aide each to Majority Whip Tom DeLay, Texas Republican, and Minority Whip David E. Bonior, Michigan Democrat.

“While these salaries seem high, they're substantially lower than these people could make,” said Scot Montrey, spokesman for the House Oversight Committee, which sets the pay scale for congressional employees.

“Their talents and abilities are at such a level they could make two or three times that much in the private sector,” Mr. Montrey said. “We recognize that $122,932 is a comfortable salary to make. When you look at the universes these people live in, ... they’re very sharp, they have an enormous amount of responsibility, an enormous workload.”

House members and officers set the salaries of their own aides and staff within guidelines set by the committee, the spokesman said.

“A small handful of employees” receive $122,932, he said.

Other top-paid House aides and officials include:

- Andrea B. King, domestic policy adviser to Mr. Gephardt, $117,000; James J. Varey, deputy sergeant at arms, $116,251; John Garbett, associate administrator of media and support services, $116,251; Peter B. Davidson, general counsel and floor assistant to Mr. Gingrich, $115,000; Paul C. Sweetland, associate administrator of facilities management, $113,392; and Donald G. Muttersbaugh Sr., associate administrator of support services, $110,390.

Eleven leadership aides and House officials are paid $108,234. They are Leigh Ann Metzger, communications director for Mr. Gingrich; Jay Pierson, floor assistant to Mr. Gingrich; John W. Howard and Edward Rutler, special assistants to Mr. Gingrich; Daniel A. Turton, floor assistant to Mr. Gephardt; Laura S. Nichols, communications director for Mr. Gephardt; James C. Lafferty, communications director for Mr. Delay; Paul Orzulak, speech writer for Mr. Bonior; Thomas E. Amfinson, associate administrator for finance; John M. Dorsey, administrative counsel; and Philip G. Kiko, associate administrator for procurement and purchasing.

Capitol Hill Police Chief Gary L. Abrecht earns $106,878 a year. Deputy Police Chief John E. Daniels is paid $82,500.

Mr. Gingrich has 26 staff members and a yearly payroll of $1.6 million for his speaker's office, with an average salary of $60,227. For his regular congressional office, the Georgia Republican has an additional 22 aides and an office payroll of $510,721, with an average salary of $23,215.

Mr. Armey has 21 aides and a yearly payroll of $1.3 million for his majority leader's office, with an average salary of $60,629. The Texas Republican's regular congressional office has 15 staff members and a payroll of $572,396, with an average salary of $38,160.

Mr. Gephardt has 26 staff members and a payroll of $1.7 million for his minority leader's office, with an average salary of $64,054. The Missouri Democrat has 16 aides in his regular congressional office and a payroll of $440,800.
50 years ago, "We were the victims of the most atrocious treatment known to mankind. We were starved, beaten. We were denied any medical assistance. And we were just treated worse than you would treat animals."

This year, Mr. Levenberg's group gained a new ally in its uphill bid for a Japanese apology and compensation of $20,000 each — the amount Congress voted for Japanese-Americans interned in the United States.

Gavan Daws, a historian who was a boy in Australia's outback during World War II, has written a book documenting Japan's cruelty toward 140,000 Allied prisoners.

Mr. Daws said official military histories and other works on the Pacific Theater avoid research into the POWs' ordeal. One of modern history's worst crimes is virtually unknown to most Americans. "They have no monument. There's no Vietnam Memorial for them. No single place in the world they can go and reflect on their experience," Mr. Daws said. "A book isn't a monument, but it's a way of reflecting on the experience.

The author of eight books and various award-winning documentary films, Mr. Daws spent 10 years interviewing ex-POWs and culling archival material. His research spawned the 400-page "Prisoners of the Japanese: POWs of World War II in the Pacific."

The lunatic medical research, starvation, brutal beatings and slave labor are convincingly spelled out. Of 140,000 Allied prisoners, more than 40,000 never saw freedom again.

Asked about his book, Mr. Daws wrote, "The western Pacific theater is calling for the atomic bomb. The American military command gave some medical professors at Kyushu Imperial University eight B-29 crewmen. The professors cut them up alive. . . They dug holes in a skull and stuck a knife into the living brain to see what would happen."

In an interview, the author said, "Japan did not go by the Geneva Convention. The Japanese had no moral qualms about what they did. To find the overall death rate was one in three, that's appalling. Americans in Nazi prison camps, between 1 and 4 percent died." The publishing of "Prisoners of the Japanese" coincides with renewed debate over President Truman's decision to used the atomic bomb rather than order a costly invasion of Japan.

The Smithsonian Institution in January canceled a planned exhibit on the bombing after politicians and war veterans complained that the draft scripts excessively criticized Mr. Truman's decision.

Mr. Daws says the new focus on World War II POWs buttresses the case for dropping the two bombs. "The moment that the first American soldier set foot on Japanese soil, the surviving prisoners were going to be killed," he said. "There's a written order to that effect."

Charles Pruitt, now 74 and the American Defenders' national commander, was one of those facing execution had "Operation Olympic" gone forward.

Captured with the fall of Corregidor, the Navy petty officer spent 41 months as a POW, the waning months working long shifts in a Japanese coal mine. "I had ribs broken with rifle butts. We were slapped around. Humiliated. Some of us were caned. You were all bruised up," said Mr. Pruitt, who, fed a diet of rice and gruel, lost one-third of his 150 pounds.

The atomic bomb, he said, "saved many lives on both sides."

August 1945 did not come soon enough for hundreds of his prison mates. He saw scores die from malnutrition and untreated diseases such as malaria and dysentery.

A guy would be sitting next to me, shooting the bull. He was despondent. Next morning, you'd shake him and he was dead. Just gave up, I guess," said Mr. Pruitt, a native of Sweetwater, Tenn. "My belief in God and my personal confidence got me through."

The American Defenders has more than 5,000 members, about 140 fewer than a year ago. "We have lost a number through death," Mr. Pruitt said.

Members doubt they will ever hear Japan say it is sorry.
Helms holds up anti-AIDS funds

Cites higher toll of other diseases

By Marc LaFountain

Sen. Jesse Helms is blocking re-authorization of an AIDS treatment program, apparently questioning whether AIDS should be the No. 1 medical funding priority when other diseases are taking more lives.

Citig a study by the Congressional Research Service, Mr. Helms is stalling the renewal of the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Emergency Resources (CARE) Act, which has provided more than $2 billion for primary and preventive care for AIDS patients since its inception in 1990.

The Congressional Research Service examined federal spending and mortality rates for AIDS and other diseases. In March it released a study showing that AIDS was the ninth-most-common killer of Americans in 1991.

But the U.S. Public Health Service and the National Institutes of Health devoted more funds for AIDS treatment and research than for more common killers, such as cancer and heart disease.

Richard Sorian, a spokesman for President Clinton's Office of National AIDS Policy, said the study's figures do not give a complete picture of the money going to major killers besides AIDS.

Medicare and Medicaid, as well as private insurers, spend millions on patients with cancer, heart disease and other ailments, he said, adding that AIDS patients often do not have this coverage.

"We don't believe that it is useful or correct to pit one disease against another," Mr. Sorian said. "I think that the opponents of some of these programs often do that. But the thing that I notice is that they do not, in doing that, propose additional funding for the diseases that they say are being shortchanged. They simply use it as an excuse to try to reduce funding for AIDS or whatever program they are attacking."" (1)

The Ryan White CARE Act is named after the teen-age hemophiliac from Indiana who received HIV-infected blood in a transfusion and died of AIDS in 1989. Its authority expires this year unless it is reauthorized.

Funding for the program has grown from $220.5 million in fiscal 1991 to $633 million this year. The Clinton administration has requested $723.5 million for fiscal 1996.

Senate and Clinton administration sources confirm that Mr. Helms, North Carolina Republican, has placed holds on the Ryan White CARE Reauthorization Act of 1995. The holds have delayed floor action on the bill since it was reported out of the Labor and Human Resources Committee in February.

With Mr. Helms' objections in place, the act can be brought to the Senate floor only by Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas, one of 57 senators co-sponsoring the bipartisan effort at reauthorization.

But a Labor and Human Resources Committee staffer said Mr. Dole, who is running for the GOP presidential nomination, is urging cooperation and does not want to be forced to override Mr. Helms' objections.

"Senator Dole's staff has encouraged us to try to work with the member who has a hold on this legislation," said the staffer, declining to identify Mr. Helms by name.

The staffer said that the act has enough support to prevent a filibuster and that it will likely come to the Senate floor in the next few weeks.

Mr. Dole's office had no comment.

Reauthorization of the Ryan White CARE Act is a top priority for the Clinton administration, according to Mr. Sorian. He said his office is willing to work with Mr. Helms to pass the act but Mr. Helms has not said why he is blocking it.

"Senator Helms has not contacted our office with any questions or any requests for any assistance or information," Mr. Sorian said. "He has not publicly stated why it is that he is putting a hold on this legislation, so we couldn't even just proactively send him information about what it is that he is concerned about." (2)

Mr. Helms' office did not return calls seeking an interview. His staff provided The Washington Times with a copy of the Congressional Research Service study.

Mr. Helms was one of four senators to oppose the Ryan White CARE Act when it was enacted. At the time, he said federal funding for AIDS treatment was inconsistent with making homosexuals and intravenous drug users take responsibility for their actions.

"I have never heard once in this chamber anybody say to the homosexuals and IV drug users, who make up over 90 percent of the AIDS population, 'Stop what you are doing,'" Mr. Helms said in 1990. "I think it is about time that this Senate addressed the moral issue." (3)

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, AIDS now is the leading cause of death for Americans between the ages of 25 and 44.

see HELMS, page A11

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The Washington Times

U.S. alarmed at rise in tension on Korean border

By Bill Gertz

The military demarcation line that bisects the Koreas has been quiet since mid-March, according to Gen. James Pfister, commander of U.S. forces in South Korea. But the two sides have raised new fears and objections about heightened tensions along the DMZ.

While the border crossings are not unprecedented, U.S. military officials see them as part of a recent effort by Pyongyang to exploit the armistice agreement that ended the Korean War and replace it with a new peace accord.

The crossings also may be connected to North Korean special forces training and to reconnaissance forays to determine the status of South Korean guard forces, according to the sources.

U.S. intelligence officials are worried that the South Korean president, Mr. Kim, will exploit the crossings to create new fears of war with North Korea. The South Korean president is running for re-election, and local elections are scheduled for June 27.

Intelligence sources said that before 1992 elections, Mr. Kim was prepared to place South Korean military forces on a higher state of alert to magnify the threat from the North and garner increased political support. But the action was never taken.

Two-thirds of North Korea's military forces are deployed within 60 miles of the DMZ separating the two countries. The deployments include large numbers of tanks, troops, artillery and armored vehicles.

One source said a senior South Korean political leader in 1992 had planned to outfit South Korean special forces troops in North Korean military uniforms and have them stage incidents along the DMZ. The provocations were to be carried out if polls showed Mr. Kim would lose the election.

One concern among U.S. analysts is that South Korean officials, including Mr. Kim, have indicated in public statements recently that the danger from North Korea is growing.

U.S. intelligence officials believe the statements reflect the Seoul government's growing frustration over being put on the periphery of the U.S.-North Korea nuclear talks.

Pyongyang is refusing to accept a South Korean role in replacing the North's heavy-water reactors, which are better for building nuclear weapons, with light-water reactors. The light-water reactors are part of a $4.5 billion deal reached last year.

Jim Coles, a spokesman for U.S. forces in South Korea, said Gen. Luck has spoken with South Korean military leaders recently.

"Mr. Coles said reports of heightened tensions were based solely on media reports and "nothing on the ground has changed."

"Most of the North Korean army is in the fields planting rice right now," Mr. Coles said. "It's business as usual!"

The recent border crossings are not out of the ordinary, he said.

Some official statements from North Korea are being interpreted by U.S. intelligence analysts as positive signs Pyongyang is prepared to resume the North-South dialogue.

From page A1

eral disasters, including a bridge collapse several months ago and a gas explosion in Taegu last month.

Talks between the United States and North Korea on nuclear issues broke down in Berlin last month, and discussions in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, last week also stalled.

Pyongyang is refusing to accept South Korean-made light-water reactors as part of a deal to eliminate Pyongyang's nuclear arms program.

Asked about the increased tensions, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. John Shalikashvili said Thursday he does not see "escalating" problems right now on the Korean Peninsula.

Having said that, we always need to be mindful of the dangers of a miscalculation and that the Korean Peninsula itself is a very dangerous place, if for no other reason than North Korea maintains very extensive conventional forces poised just north of the DMZ," Gen. Shalikashvili told reporters at the Pentagon.

"But I don't see anything in particular right now, although of course we're watching the negotiations and discussions very, very carefully."

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Panel clips Perry's wings, bars links to China's military

By Bill Gertz

The Washington Times

The House National Security Committee, passing legislation last week that would bar the Pentagon from taking part in a program launched by Defense Secretary William Perry to develop ties with China's military through defense conversion projects.

Congressional aides said the program was "zooled out" at the request of the Committee Chairman Floyd Spence, South Carolina Republican, who views the effort with suspicion because of the Chinese military's record of covertly obtaining weapons technology using its defense industry as cover.

"This is a rocket from the House National Security Committee chairman aimed right at Perry," said one aide. "It says Congress is deeply suspicious of the entire U.S.-communist China military-to-military program.

The defense conversion program provides a siphon pump from U.S. defense contractors to the Chinese defense establishment, the aide said.

The action by the committee comes as China has stepped up pressure on the United States not to allow Taiwan's president to visit the United States. On Friday, Chinese Defense Minister Chi Haotian postponed indefinitely a visit to the United States.

The minister was scheduled to arrive next month to reciprocate for Mr. Perry's visit to China in October 1994, when the U.S.-China Joint Defense Conversion Commission was a major topic of discussion.

Marine Corps Maj. Steve Manuel, a Pentagon spokesman, said Mr. Perry was traveling in Europe and was unaware of the House committee's action.

"There has been some concern in Congress that this is a tech transfer program," he said. "It is not a tech transfer program.

By Cheryl Wetzstein

The Washington Times

Statistics rate adoption over single parenting

Welfare reformers urged to take heed

Adoptive parents do a far better job of providing a healthy home life for children than do single parents, several researchers say, citing federal health statistics.

The data provide one more reason that government policies, particularly in welfare reform, must combat illegitimacy and support families. As House Republicans have with their $5,000 adoption tax credit, said Gracie S. Hsu, an analyst with the Family Research Council.

But many social workers say children have a right to their family — regardless of who constitutes it. "Families and social services should try to treat children in their own homes. Adoption is recommended only when reunification isn't possible, they say.

Congress is also divided on how to handle reform of the child welfare system, which was inundated with 3 million reports of child abuse and neglect in 1993.

About 442,000 children were in foster care in 1992 — a 69 percent increase since a decade ago. That same year, 128,000 adoptions occurred, including about 10,000 adoptions of children born in China.

Many policy-makers say adoption is an underused choice to care for neglected and abused children.

House Republicans agreed: In their welfare reform bill, they re-echanged the child welfare programs, created a block-grant program and told states to design their own child welfare systems — and "promote timely adoptions."

But the Senate Finance Commit­tee bill leaves the programs intact. Explained a Senate aide: Senators were reluctant to give states block grants "when 22 states are having trouble running their programs."

A new study issued by the Na­tional Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) shows that adoptive parents are more likely than single mothers to have their children use seat belts, see a dentist, go to bed regularly and live in a smoke-free home, Miss Hsu said in a report issued earlier this month.

But critics say the Chinese defense industry is totally government-controlled and that its primary objective for engaging the United States in the conversion commission is to modernize the defense industry so it can produce better weapons.
GOP leaders said to betray conservatives

By Major Garrett

Republican presidential nominee Pat Buchanan yesterday charged that Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and House Speaker Newt Gingrich have said they do not have the votes to approve the amendment and thus see little reason to act on it now.

Sen. Phil Gramm, another presidential contender, agrees the votes for victory are lacking and has not objected to shelving the amendment indefinitely.

Mr. Gramm, Texas Republican, has tried to rebound from rebuff hearings by attacking Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle, a South Dakota Democrat who yesterday called for a constitutional amendment banning abortion.

Mr. Buchanan said the party's platform since 1980 has called for a constitutional amendment banning abortion. Some Republicans are trying to soften the anti-abortion language in the 1996 platform to make the party more attractive to centerists and libertarians.

"The human-life amendment is the goal of the Republican Party," Mr. Buchanan said. "I support it. We ought to have a vote on it this year in both houses of Congress. Do we believe what we told the country or not? If we do, stand up and vote on it, and let's see how many votes we get. What's wrong with that?"

Some leaders in the social conservative movement support the go-slow approach on abortion. Pat Robertson, founder and president of the Christian Coalition, said last month that a pro-life amendment is 10 or 15 years away from winning the necessary two-thirds approval in both chambers of Congress.

"This whole thing, at this point in time, is a meaningless exercise," Mr. Robertson said in an interview last month on CNN.

"There is no way, given the present makeup of Congress, that we could get a two-thirds vote for a constitutional amendment banning abortion. It's just not possible."

Republicans have a majority in Congress (54-46 in the Senate, 231-203-1 in the House) but do not control two-thirds of the chambers.

Mr. Robertson said the party may need to alter its pro-life language in the 1996 platform.

"I don't want to make any statements about the platform right now, but I certainly will work with people to craft something that's significant," Mr. Robertson told CNN.

Congressional leaders are more likely to try to eliminate all federal funding for abortions and allow states to impose waiting periods for counseling or banning third-trimester abortions.

A New York Times/CBS News poll this month of 1,023 adults showed that 77 percent of those surveyed believed abortion should be allowed. Of those, 36 percent said no new restrictions are needed while the remainder said more are needed. Twenty percent said the government should ban abortion.

Mr. Buchanan said the party's approach to abortion could alienate social conservatives and jeopardize the political coalition that helped bring a Republican majority to Congress for the first time in 40 years.

"If we're going to build a great coalition, you've got to be true to the right-to-lifers," he said.
Rollins quits Dole campaign after roast slurs against Jews

By Major Garrett

Ed Rollins has resigned as a voluntary adviser to Bob Dole's presidential campaign after referring to two Jewish members of Congress as "Hymie boys" during a roast of California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown.

Mr. Rollins resigned on May 22 after being informed that Dole campaign advisers believed the profuse apology he issued had not quieted anxieties among the senator's financial contributors.

"Basically, after thinking about it, I offered to resign, and they accepted it," Mr. Rollins said. "They didn't argue with me. Having sat in [campaign manager] Scott Reed's chair, I thought it was best to leave."

Mr. Reed denounced Mr. Rollins when the remarks were publicized. He sought Mr. Rollins' resignation after it became clear the controversy had not subsided, sources said.


At a mid-May political roast of Mr. Brown, California's most powerful and best-known black politician, Mr. Rollins said Mr. Brown harbors secret ambitions to become mayor of Los Angeles. That way, Mr. Brown could get back at prominent Democratic Reps. Henry A. Waxman and Howard L. Berman, Mr. Rollins said.

"If elected mayor of L.A., he could show those Hymie boys, that he was "totally and unequivocally wrong" and was pleading "stupidity and ignorance, not malice."

Still, Mr. Rollins believes the controversy was blown out of proportion and that now he's being held to a higher standard than other political consultants. He said that when he makes a mistake, it becomes a liability for candidates who hire him, a burden he said other consultants do not have to cope with.

"From my perspective, I've become a target," Mr. Rollins said. "There is no question that it's a different standard."

Mr. Rollins strained relations with his party by backing Mr. Perot. His image improved markedly in 1993 when he helped Republican Christine Todd Whitman upset Democratic New Jersey Gov. James Florio.

But his career took a disastrous turn when Mr. Rollins told reporters the campaign gave money to black ministers to suppress the black vote in key precincts. Mrs. Whitman denied the story.

Mr. Rollins later said he made the story up to anger Democratic political strategist James Carville, who managed Mr. Florio's campaign.

A state investigation found no evidence of voter suppression. The matter has caused Mrs. Whitman no significant political harm. She is now considered a top contender for the Republican vice-presidential nomination.

Mr. Rollins said he will not participate in the 1996 campaign as any candidate's adviser and is finished as a political consultant.

"It is my feeling at this point in time I will not be involved in any formal role in any campaign," he said. "I'm through. It's been a long ride. [But] you get tired of it."

Mr. Rollins said he will concentrate on building his business as a adviser on communications and international finance.
Balanced budget, Foster advance in an eventful week

Both hot issues far from resolved

By Marc LaFountain
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A busy week in the Senate ended as a committee voted in favor of President Clinton's nominee for surgeon general and the full Senate approved a print for a balanced federal budget.

The Senate joined the House in approving a balanced budget for the first time in decades, cutting spending by $1 trillion over seven years.

The measure passed 57-42. Voting for the GOP plan were all 54 Senate Republicans and three Democrats: Sam Nunn of Georgia, Bob Kerrey of Nebraska and Charles S. Robb of Virginia.

The House and Senate now go to conference to resolve differences over how much to cut taxes and how far to go in curbing the growth of Medicare, Medicaid, government employee pensions and many other programs. Republican leaders hope to complete action on a final budget early in June.

The far-reaching spending blueprints are the first concrete congressional action to balance the budget without help from the president or the pressure of an economic crisis since deficits burgeoned in the 1980s.

"Let's be frank: When it comes to reducing the deficit, Congress has stood still — frozen in place year after year," said Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, Kansas Republican. "But in November 1994, Americans changed all that. We [Republicans] now have new management for the first time in 40 years in Congress."

There is some disunity among Senate Republicans on the issue of tax cuts. Sen. Phil Gramm took the Senate floor to declare that he will not support the budget that emerges from the conference with the House unless it includes a substantial tax cut.

On Tuesday the Senate swept away an amendment by the Texas Republican to adopt most of the House's seven-year, $354 billion package of family and business tax cuts.

Mr. Dole sought to mend the rift by assuring conservatives who supported the Gramm plan that he will work toward a compromise with the House that includes tax credits for families with children, individual retirement accounts for nonsenior citizens, a new tax relief and a capital gains tax reduction.

Budget balancing was not the only area of contention last week in the Senate. Opponents promised to keep up the fight as the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee approved a favorable recommendation for Mr. Clinton's nomination of Dr. Henry W. Foster Jr. for surgeon general.

Two Republicans — James M. Jeffords of Vermont and Bill S. Frist of Tennessee — joined a solid phalanx of Democrats in backing the Nashville, Tenn., obstetrician-gynecologist at the committee hearing. The final vote was 9-7.

Mr. Gramm renewed his vow to filibuster the nomination on the Senate floor and raised a new procedural hurdle in the process. He noted that the budget resolution approved by the Senate would not provide any new funds for the surgeon general's office.

"Given that uncertainty, I believe it is prudent to withhold any decision on Dr. Foster until Congress finally determines whether to abolish the office," Mr. Gramm said.

Committee Chairman Nancy Landon Kassebaum, Kansas Republican, said she expected a majority of senators to place "holds" on the nomination, a parliamentary tactic that could delay consideration of the nominee for months.

Also in the Senate last week:

• Battle lines on the budget hardened as the Senate approved a $16.4 billion 1995 spending-cuts package that Mr. Clinton has said he will veto.

• A divided Senate Finance Committee approved a welfare reform bill, on a 12-8 vote, that gives states sweeping new powers over federal anti-poverty programs.

• Mexican and U.S. officials hold a Senate hearing that the Clinton administration's $50 billion Mexico bailout has proved an economic and political disaster for both countries.

• The Senate blocked a Democratic attempt to expand the government's wiretapping authority as part of a sweeping anti-terrorism measure inspired by the Oklahoma City bombing.

• Former Kansas Gov. John W. Carlin was confirmed by the Senate on a voice vote to lead the troubled National Archives.

• Mr. Clinton's choice to oversee Social Security, Shirley Chater, has been put on indefinite hold in the Senate by Republicans angered by her refusal to outline ways of shorting up the national retirement system.

• Coming up this week: Memorial Day recess.

In the House last week:

• The House voted to cut off about $65 million in aid for Third World family planning that in any way is linked to abortion — the first show of strength by pro-life groups in the Republican-dominated Congress.

• A House National Security Committee subcommittee reversed earlier House action on missile defenses by approving an increase of nearly $800 million in funding for both regional and national anti-missile systems.

• Republicans and Democrats on a House panel called for an investigation and hearings into reports that the Pentagon is paying Russian scientists still working on Moscow's nuclear and chemical arms.

• Ranking members of a House subcommittee said Congress will not bend on the $3.25 billion budget cap it imposed on the District of Columbia this year, a level that city officials said is unrealistically low.

• Mr. Clinton signed legislation in the "Contract With America" to encourage federal agencies to roll back the amount of "maddening red tape" they require.

• Congressional advocates of term limits announced they are shifting their strategy and will pursue a constitutional amendment. The move is in response to a Supreme Court decision that struck down the term-limits provisions that had been passed by many states.

This week: Memorial Day recess.
Leon Panetta gave the commencement address Friday at Georgetown University.

"Thank you for inviting me here to speak," he told the graduates, noting that he welcomes any and all opportunities to escape from the confines of the Clinton White House.

"I usually thank the group for getting me the hell out of Washington, but that doesn't work today," Mr. Panetta noted. "But I thank you for the opportunity to have jumped the fence, to come out of the White House at a time when there are more people jumping the fence to get in the White House."

**No hard feelings**

Things may be pretty partisan in the U.S. Senate these days, but it's nothing personal, you understand.

In the middle of one of a seemingly endless series of votes on the budget last week, Democratic floor leader Jim Exon of Nebraska had a collegial arm draped over the shoulder of Sen. Hank Brown, Colorado Republican, as the two shared some senatorial inside jokes.

Mr. Brown momentarily excused himself, ducked out of Mr. Exon's embrace and indicated to the Senate clerk that he was voting against the amendment that the Nebraskan had just offered. As if nothing had happened, the two instantly resumed their clinch for another few minutes before Mr. Exon wandered off to corner another colleague.

**Too early for once**

Perhaps to the amazement of some of his former colleagues on the House and Senate Armed Services committees, it turned out that Les Aspin, as the old joke goes, was not late for his own funeral.

"Chairman Aspin would always be late, almost invariably late, and he would come in with a great swath of papers under his arm, down the hall with two or three staff people, and he would literally flop in the chair," Sen. John Warner, Virginia Republican, recalled of past congressional meetings.

"He would consume the entire chair, and the papers would be scattered all over the floor," said Mr. Aspin's close friend, who only two weeks ago had a working visit with the former defense secretary.

Mr. Aspin's funeral was held Friday in Milwaukee.

**Half a century**


She suggested that the 40-volume publication, printed both as a House and Senate report, be bound only once. The boss liked her idea, and the implementation of her suggestion resulted in a reduction of 13,740 book volumes to be bound, saving the federal government more than $600,000.

For that, Ms. Saunders in 1991 was awarded a presidential letter of commendation by President Bush, who wrote to her: "You have demonstrated to an exceptional degree my belief that federal employees have the knowledge, ability, and desire to make a difference."

On Friday, Ms. Saunders celebrated 30 years of federal service, 49 of them with the GPO. On the House floor, Rep. Steny Hoyer, Maryland Democrat, saluted her "exemplary" government service.

**Texas bet**

Rep. Henry Bonilla, Texas Republican from San Antonio, was overseeing House debate as speaker pro tempore last week when Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee, Texas Democrat from Houston, stopped fighting student-loan cuts long enough to challenge her Texas counterpart to a friendly wager.

"The Houston Rockets will take this series in seven," said Mrs. Lee, referring to the National Basketball Association playoff games between the Rockets and the San Antonio Spurs. "I wonder, does the speaker have the right stuff to accept this wager, the loser having to provide reasonable penalty for the loss to our respective constituents? I wonder, does he have the right stuff to accept this wager?"

Mr. Bonilla, who it turns out is a longtime Spurs season-ticket holder, accepted the congresswoman's challenge "with great enthusiasm."

He must have forgotten that the Spurs are 0-7 in NBA playoff series in which, like this season, they lost the first two games.

**Long punch line**

Sen. Jim Jeffords, Vermont Republican: "I ask, senator, for an additional 30 seconds."

Sen. Tom Harkin, Iowa Democrat: "I hate to tell the senator from Vermont, I only have six minutes, five seconds [left]. I have two people that I promised more time to.

Mr. Jeffords: "My punch line is all I wanted to get out."

Mr. Harkin: "The senator gets at least two minutes for his punch line."

Mr. Jeffords: "Well, it will not take that long."
When social critic Barbara Ehrenreich snarls, people listen. The Time magazine essayist and author of nine nonfiction books seldom is predictable in her choice of targets and seemingly always able and willing to speak in informed fashion about hot topics of the day.

She knows about wars within and wars without. Just mention one and the experienced talk-meister will have an opinion — on right-wing militant militias ("Women are included in them"); Hillary Rodham Clinton ("She should get a job"); Attorney General Janet Reno after Waco ("She should have resigned then and there"); and nearly everything about "Sex Skirmishes and Gender Wars." The last is the title of a chapter in her latest collection of essays, "The Snarling Citizen," (Farrar Straus Giroux) written since 1990. In it she neatly dissected media moguls as well as feminist heroines, TV addicts and fitness freaks. She is feminist without a capital F and intellectually fit enough to have earned her doctorate in biology from Rockefeller University.

Of the recent tragedy in Oklahoma, she is almost on automatic pilot answering interviewers' predictable questions about "what it all means." In her mind, "this attack is perhaps not properly called terrorism but an act of revolution...as great or potent as Rwanda or Bosnia. A micro war with little groups or bands who want the abolition of society and go back to the land. It's also a lot of fear." Fear of crime, among other things, "which gets beaten into us all the time on TV."

"I do think the mainstream right wing has to take a close look into their hearts and rhetoric," she says over a cup of tea between appointments on a recent book tour. "The first thing I thought when I heard the bombs went off was who is trying to bring down the federal government. There are people out there — and I don't know how many but it ranges from just gun nuts on the less ideological side to those types on the hardcore ideological side — who really do believe that the federal government is their enemy," she said on a recent radio talk show with local host Derek McClinty. "What they are envisioning, I think, is a kind of road warrior society where you are as safe and secure as your pile of ammunition is high, and it's just going to be every little gang for themselves."

Middle-class people as well, she added ("whatever that term means"), have decided "that the government doesn't do anything but collect taxes. Because what do we see coming back? I just put two kids through college at enormous expense with no help from the government — not even a tax deduction. We don't have health insurance unless you are elderly or poor enough. You're not seeing a lot coming back because it goes off to the Pentagon or to paying off the debt. People conclude they, or we, can't make any use of the government so let's destroy it."

A caller asked, in agreement, why there was such a loss of faith in government's ability to provide civic services. "I suggest if we had a more activist government in the way it sounded like [President] Clinton was going to make it two years ago, maybe there would be more things you could concretely see and say 'oh, there is the health center on the corner, the government built that,' or 'the library is now open seven days a week, the government did that.' What we have been seeing is a diminution of government services, probably mostly for the middle class."

She is equally caustic in another, slightly satirical vein over what she calls the American obsession with marriage, which she says "Americans love too much."

"I think we destroyed marriage by loving it to death," she explains. "We marry somebody and expect that one person to be all things — Expectations are too high and then we get divorced."

"When people lived in supportive urban communities then you had lots of friends and a family wasn't going to implode. You were spreading it out — an aunt or granddad who might take the kids off your hands every once in a while, the brother to shoot pool with. We're trying to do all those things with one person."

The essays are almost incidental in her mind to a much longer project on which she is embarked in her Key West, Fla., home: a timely book about the religious origins of war that has less to do with organized religion than the idea of war as the equivalent of a religious crusade. —Ann Geracimos
Corporate welfare

Stephen Moore, author of the libertarian Cato Institute study of corporate welfare, told Knight-Ridder's Robert A. Rankin: "One of the major themes of the [House] budget blueprint is to attack corporate welfare. If we do it as far as I would like, it is the first time in a quarter-century that Congress [aims] to shrink corporate welfare rather than expand it."

Robert Shapiro, author of a study for the Progressive Policy Institute, a centrist Democratic group, said: "They do take perhaps a little under one-third of the (direct) spending subsidies. They focus on subsidies for technology firms and trade-related subsidies. These happen to be closely associated with the Clinton administration."

Political Iniquity

Columnist William Safire in the New York Times: "Recast your thinking to fit the campaign of 1996. Senator Bob Dole is proving that voter distrust can be divine; indeed, it is the secret weapon of his candidacy. "Let this counterevangelical, signified perhaps by a presidential aide, illuminate your political landscape: 'When people don't believe Clinton, it hurts Clinton; but when they don't believe Dole, it helps Dole.'"

In his reconstruction, Mr. Safire suggests that "neither pro-choice nor pro-lifers trust what Dole says about abortion — which is a great advantage to him because it alienates nobody."

"The president is held to a different standard; nobody counts him any slack. The New Dole's delusious dealiveness is welcomed while the New Clinton's flip floppiness is despised."

"Missing"

The Philadelphia Inquirer editorialized that the GOP wishes to make false economies. The White House, however, is absent from the debate, it pointed out: "Soon, there may be a milk carton with Bill Clinton's picture on it. In the struggle to end dangerous deficits, he's been missing for months."

Sheep libel

Assistant Interior Secretary George Frampton told a Senate panel that "sheep that just fell over and couldn't get up." Subcommitte Chairman Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Colorado Republican, responded: "My wife's family has raised sheep for about 80 years, and you just made a pretty good point about how dumb sheep are."

The electoral view

President Clinton's geographical approach to re-election, with its emphasis on California, may seem cynical, "but it is a breath of fresh air to Democratic National Committee professionals," says the Baltimore Sun's Carl M. Cannon.

"Before 1992, the party's nominees never seemed to grasp a simple fact of American civics: A presidential election is not a national popular election. Rather, it's 50 separate elections in each state (plus the District of Columbia) — and they are winner-take-all."

Carville stamping

The Chicago Tribune's Ted Gregory reports that Democratic strategist James Carville recently told a crowd at DePaul University: "You weren't just given a country. You were given a special, precious place, with a special, precious character!"

"The crowd erupts in applause," Mr. Gregory writes. "Carville grasps his white and red campaign bag and heads toward the door. He looks like a candidate on the stump. He is asked if he has considered running for office."

"'Noo,' he says, grinning again, 'only for the state line.'"

Martí's charmed life

Scrpps Howard News Service reports that House GOP budget slashers declared the government's TV Martí "an expensive anachronism" that has "little success in broadcasting to Cuba."

Then they decided to continue funding it.

Credit lobbying by the politically powerful Cuban-American community, which persuaded Budget Committee Chairman John Kasich that TV Martí was worth saving, even though the Castro regime jams its signal and no one in Cuba can see it.

Booked

Critics of Newt Gingrich, who launches a 25-city book tour next month for his forthcoming "To Renew America," accuse the House speaker of Toutting the House ethics committee.

Mr. Gingrich, however, dismisses the clamor as petty jealousy. "My book will sell; theirs won't," he told the Associated Press. "Jealousy leads to many things, anger being one of them."

Meanwhile, the House ethics committee warned him against assuming his recent book contract complies with the chamber's rules. "You should make no such assumption," the committee said in a letter.

Pete's bum numbers

A Field Poll shows that 59 percent of California voters think GOP Gov. Pete Wilson should not run for the presidency, while 33 percent say it's OK. Asked if he can campaign for the GOP nomination and do a good job as governor, 63 percent said no.

Dodd's disbelieving

Hotline caught Sen. Chris Dodd's comments on the "Judy Jarvis Show" about Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole's moneymaking for the presidency: "In many ways, I think that's part of the difficulty. Coburn because he's a great legislator . . . I happen to like Bob Dole . . . I certainly on a personal level appreciate the fact that he'd like to be president, but on a substantive level I kind of wish he were incapacity a leader a per­ cent of the time — so we can be more product along here."

"Then of course he takes positions that many of us, we sort of write off, because we see him as a presidential candidate and he's doing what he has to do to win a nomination for us that frankly don't thoroughly believe in his heart of hearts he believes a lot of this stuff."

Gramm report

Hoping to extricate himself from a mess, Sen. Phil Gramm has vowed that if he becomes president, he will instruct the congressman and the Republican National Committee to ensure the New Hampshire primary's primary."

The National Journal's James A. Barnes notes that the national committee has no power to set primary dates and that the pledge comes after weeks of sniping from New Hampshire Gov. Steve Merrill and the Man­ cynthia Encyclopedia. "That Mr. Gramm is insufficiently devoted to the state's interest."

Annals of moderation

U.S. News & World Report's Steven V. Roberts interviewed Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum, Senate Labor Committee chair­ man: "It sounds wimpish these days" to be a consensus-builder, she said. "Nobody likes to sort of muddle through the middle any­ more." She added that it's hard "to feel passionate about moder­ ation."

What success breeds

Noting the "remarkable" unity of congressional Republicans, the New York Times' Adam Clymer writes, "Many in Washington, where success usually generates squinting disbelief, cherish the thought that Republican failure in Congress is inevitable, even if no one knows just where it will come, or when."

"And from the start the Repub­ licans themselves have acknowl­ edged that the next part of the agenda, actually cutting spend­ ing, will be harder than just promising to."

"They may run into a brick wall yet if Mr. Clinton's will on ve­ teps proves as strong as his lan­ guage. But that test is some time off. So far, as Thomas E. Mann of the Brookings Institution ob­ served: 'Success breeds success. That has a way of keeping the troops together.'"
Gramm's in the Net

Sen. Phil Gramm, Texas Republican, threw his hat into the presidential contest a few weeks ago, but until he tossed his off the Wide Web page in with it, it was hard to take his candidacy seriously. Now he's on-line and he therefore EXISTS.

It's one-stop shopping for all the Phil Gramm photos and sound bites you will ever want, along with a promise to update the site every time the senator updates his World Wide Web page in.

There were thoughtful enough to include a link where you can download Quicklime viewers for Windows and UNIX. I had been looking for these viewers and that was helpful.

The roadmap: Go check out the first official candidate page of Senator Gramm at http://www.gramm96.org/.

Casper goes interactive

Lock your office door and put up a "Meeting: Do not Disturb" sign. Then boot up your computer or log onto a one-screen (without blushing) cruise over to the Casper the Friendly Ghost page on the Wide Web.

Casper's page is the eighth or ninth movie promotional page I've http://www.mca.com/universalpictures/casper/index.html. It looks best with Netscape, but any Web browser will produce some animation.

If you want to see another movie promo page, Mortal Kombat plans to debut a Web site over the coming Memorial Day weekend at the address http://www.mortalkombat.com/kombatbeats.html. We hear they're even going to publish their года on a Web address on popcorn bags at the theater.

The page will probably think it's one of the popcorn ingredients: a hallucinogenic preservative that reacts with yellow dyes.

The way cool buzzword for today is "interactive television." Interactive programs are interactive and television will be shortly. Interactive is when the machine does something and then the human does something back and so on.

But this is nothing new. Interactive television came into the picture in 1959 when, as a 9-year-old boy watching Mousekeeteer Annette Funicello, I kissed the TV screen — many times. That's all I have to confess at the moment. Now send your interesting Net sites to moftff@ic.net.com.

Very specific

The Indian Embassy insisted it wasn't concerned and maintained that a particular amendment to the House foreign aid bill was not aimed at New Delhi.

"It is not India-specific," an Indian diplomat told Embassy Row last week.

The embassy should think again.

The day after we reported on the amendment sponsored by Rep. Dan Burton, the Indiana Republican sent out a news release that left no doubt about which country he was targeting:

"Burton Amendment Cuts Aid to India," the release trumpeted.

The amendment would cut assistance to any country that votes against U.S. positions at the United Nations more than 75 percent of the time.

"India, which has voted against the U.S. more than any other country — from 81 percent to 95 percent of the time — would lose $70 million in development assistance," Mr. Burton said.

EU on Cuba bills

On another matter, Mr. Burton has upset the Europeans over his anti-Castro bill.

A European Union official last week accused Mr. Burton and Sen. Jesse Helms, who is also sponsoring a Cuban bill, of trying to make a scapegoat out of the Cuban dictator.

"My personal feeling is that it can become the best alibi for the Castro regime," Emma Bonino, EU commissioner for humanitarian aid and fisheries, said in Washington after a visit to Cuba.

"Finding a foreign scapegoat is the best way to pull together national cohesion," she told reporters.

Sudan takes offense

Sudanese Ambassador Ahmed Suliman was displeased when he read the Embassy Row column May 16 and saw an accusation by the Algerian and Tunisian ambassadors that Sudan has been sending weapons to the Islamic insurgents in Algeria.

The comments by Oussame Bencherif of Algeria and Azouz Emir of Tunisia were hardly news to Washington. It has long considered Sudan an international troublemaker, including it on a list of countries accused of sponsoring terrorism.

Mr. Suliman has sent a letter of response to the Arab League office in Washington to be forwarded to the ambassadors.

"I said it is not the first time Sudan has been subjected to such slander from Algeria," Mr. Suliman told our reporter, Ben Barber.

"When the Algerian ambassador presented his credentials at the Embassy Row a few months back, he accused Sudan of providing arms and training to Alge- ria's insurgents and hosting them.

This was categorically denied by the president of the republic. We have no interest in supporting insurgents when we have enough of our own problems."

He noted it is difficult to transport weapons across thousands of miles of desert in Libya, Chad or Nigeria to Algeria "even if we wanted." He also denied charges by the State Department that Sudan trains Palestinian terrorists.

He said the Palestinians are experts at insurgency and could learn little from Sudan.

The Irish party

Irish eyes were beary the morning after guests shut down a diplomatic reception at the Irish ambassador's residence after midnight and entered off to the lobby of the Washington Sheraton Hotel, where they sang Irish songs until the whiskey ran dry.

"I'm sure there are a lot of Irish and British diplomats with the same hangover," said one Embassy Row informant who attended both affairs.

The revelry began Thursday night when Ambassador Dermot Gallagher threw a reception to celebrate the major Northern Ireland investment conference. Guests stayed until 12:30 a.m. Friday. The party ended after 3 a.m. at the hotel, where the conference was held and many guests stayed.

Some observers tried to count the number of people crowding into the lobby and stopped when they reached 230, our informant said.

Others thought the party was a giveaway for the Northern Irish peace process.

The merrymaking brought to the notice of Irish Catholic, Protestant, singing Irish nationalist songs and unionist ballads of devotion to Britain.
Letters

In today's Navy, you mustn't murmur against political correctness

In characteristic fashion, the wire service that you used as a source for a May 19 American Scene item selectively omitted the fact that Lt. Cdr. Kenneth A. Carkhuff — while privately expressing only to his immediate superior his religious-based reservations on women in combat situations — had clearly based reservations on women in immediate superior his religious-affirmed his intention to fully comply with orders, regulations and Department of Defense directives. So, now we have the sorry spectacle of our feminia-fearing Navy moving to discharge an exemplary officer while at the same time retaining numerous avowed gays and lesbians. Apparently, the big media and the American Civil Liberties Union are too busy inventing "rights" for self-professed deviants and identified carriers of the AIDS virus to come to the defense of a Christian man who honorably reveals the mildest degree of conscientious objection to the punitive practitioners of political correctness.

R.S. BRUCE
Mechanicsville, Va.

Columnist fans flames of intolerance instead of promoting harmony

I read with some amusement the column written by Samuel Francis, about the radical Hispanic group called Mexican Movement for National Liberation ("Hate in Southern California," Op-Ed, May 9). It would appear that this group wants to unite the Southwest with Mexico. Mr. Francis must have looked mighty hard to find these guys. Most of the Mexicans I have talked to, both legal and illegal, have run away from that very Mexican government that these extremists want to unite the Southwest with. I would like to inform Mr. Francis that for every Mexican who might want to unite the Southwest with Mexico, I can find a thousand who would like nothing better than to put an end to a government of Mexico that allows such undescribable poverty, corruption and injustice to exist.

Mr. Francis states that this radical group speaks of the genocide that occurred during the first European contact with the indigenous peoples of the Americas and uses this genocide as an excuse for their plans of national liberation and reunification with Mexico. Was there genocide against the native peoples of North and South America, over 400 years ago? Yes, there was. Is there still oppressive European domination of the indigenous peoples in parts of Mexico, Central and South America, even today? Yes, there is. Have some of the indigenous peoples of North and South America noticed that the peoples of Asia and Africa have pushed the Europeans out of their lands in the last 500 years? Yes, they have noticed. They would have to been both blind and deaf not to have noticed.

Does this mean that Mexicans, as indigenous peoples, want to reunite with Mexico or push European Americans back to Europe? Not by a long shot. Although I will admit that I would be willing to purchase a free vacation trip to Europe for Mr. Francis, if he would agree to stay there.

Mr. Francis should know that for 150 years the Mexican and Hispanic population of the Southwest has fought against the enemies of America, from Southern rebels at the Battle of Valverde, to Nazis soldiers at the Battle of the Bulge. I assure you, such bonds forged in fire are not so easily broken.

Most of us have taken up the American dream as our own, with its promise of democracy and prosperity. Mr. Francis ought to know that, according to the rumors I hear on the grapevine, as long as you "Grin and Bear" keep building nice Chevys and making great cartoons, we're most likely going to keep "you all." Mr. Francis shouldn't be so paranoid and quick to see conspiracy just because this radical group spelled "Europeans" with a lower case "e." Maybe they didn't learn all their lessons about English capitalization. Or maybe they hoped people like Mr. Francis would read their statement and get red-faced screaming mad. Boy did they get his goat. I'm sure they're laughing in their beer after reading his column. Especially after they realize how much national exposure Mr. Francis has provided them.

Mr. Francis shouldn't worry about these guys. I don't think that a few people with access to a word processor and copy machine compose a "movement." He should worry about the Reactionary Right. They might decide that every newspaper in Washington is liberal, including The Washington Times, and come to visit.

One word on Proposition 187. Most of the Chichimec-Mexico people do not like Proposition 187. As the native peoples of North America, we had already expanded into the Southwest, and as far north as Wyoming, more than a thousand years ago. We will not taken kindly to our women and children being stopped, questioned or harassed. It's one thing to control the borders, that's OK, but a very different matter to molest us on the streets or in the schools.

But don't worry, we are mostly a law-abiding people, and we have many peaceful ways to protest. We could obtain a permit, then march in the streets of Los Angeles; torch-light parades such as in Eastern Europe. We could also petition the Congress for a redress of grievances or call for a Constitution Convention. There are also those who say that we should leave California and Texas, and move into those eight state that have populations little more than 500,000 people. That would give us 16 U.S. Senate seats. Now that's affirmative action!

One last thing Mr. Francis should consider: If things did get violent, our color bearer will still have the Stars and Stripes in one hand and the Constitution in the other. For it is such people such as Mr. Francis would fan the flames of intolerance, rather than promoting the unity and harmony of the various peoples of this great nation.

DAVID JACQUEZ
Fremont, Calif.
When our house is under siege

E
tering the Cabinet Room last week, I was struck again by how small the place is. Sitting in a simple chair and gazing up at the old portrait of Abraham Lincoln, it's hard to fathom that the affairs of a superpower are decided around this table.

I had the same feeling back in the late 1970s working as a presidential speechwriter. However, it may appear on a postcard or the evening news, the working White House is extremely human-sized. The halls of the West Wing are narrow, the offices compact, the rhododendron in the first lady's garden as aromatic and American as the ones in grandmom's yard.

It's the way we want it, a president living and doing our business in a place just grand enough for a great tragedy on the other side. I cannot feel angry, no matter how angry Americans, no matter how angry we might get with a particular politician, share a strong sentiment where our institutions themselves are concerned.

This sentiment is nowhere more powerful than among the older women who protect the president and our national shrines. It is not a myth that some of our service agencies will "take a bullet" for the president. When Puerto Rican nationalists attacked Blair House across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House in 1950, three presidential guards were shot protecting Harry Truman. One of them died. When Ronald Reagan was shot at the Hilton hotel on Connecticut Avenue, one agent was shot in the abdomen when he placed his body in front of the president's. Another agent jumped on the president to guard him.

Among those who guard the Capitol and the White House is there is an equally powerful sense of duty toward the buildings themselves. A Capitol policeman once told me the powerful motive that drives such men as him, many coming from poor, rural areas to guard our nation's shrines. "He loves his country because that's all he's got." These guards know exactly what they are protecting: to have the country led at the very top by someone personally accountable to the people.

Christopher Matthews, Washington bureau chief for the San Francisco Examiner, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

DONALD LAMBRO

Flawed federal ID registry concept

A plan to have the government create a national identification registry aimed at fighting illegal immigration should send a shudder through every American concerned about excessive business regulations.

Modeled after a recommendation by former Rep. Barbara Jordan's Commission on Immigration Reform, the scheme is being pushed by Assistant Attorney General Alan Simpson of Wyoming and Rep. Lamar Smith of Texas. It is an unworkable idea that would push the government even more deeply into the heart of our life of our country.

If you like the IRS, you will love the new national computer database that Messrs. Simpson and Smith want to impose on every immigrant who seeks and on every employer. They say the product is needed for mindless bureaucracy, red tape and needlessly burdensome paperwork.

Under their proposed legislation, businesses would have to apply to the federal registry's database at the Immigration and Naturalization Service to confirm the working status of any new worker they want to hire. Anyone who has ever had any dealings with the INS knows it is a forum of mind-numbing bureaucratization and bureaucratic incompetence. A 1989 audit by the Justice Department found that information in the INS database was either wrong or missing 75 percent of the time.

That not only raises the regulatory problems that businesses have with this agency but also questions about civil liberties: Thousands of legitimate job seekers have been hurt by false information about their working status. A 1992 audit involving a small group of businesses who used the INS database found that its information was unreliable at least 28 percent of the time.

Mr. Simpson's bill would require the INS and the Social Security Administration to jointly establish the national employee registry, hoping to have it in place within eight years.

But a new study by the Alexis de Tocqueville Institute explains why this hare-brained idea would do more harm than good. One of the central questions the study raises is how much accessible information do we want the feds to have on us?

"The federal government has never before held detailed information on all Americans in one consolidated place accessible to government officials and outside entities," says Stuart Anderson, policy director for the Arlington, Va., think tank.

The IRS, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, computer hackers, even private organizations such as banks, could potentially access a national computer database," Mr. Anderson warns.

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Recently proposals have been floated to use such a database to verify eligibility for federal benefits, liquor registration, child support, and assist law enforcement, while new, farther-reaching moves might even require a person own computer system in place," he says.

But looking for jobs might show some proof of their eligibility to work in the United States. But if we are now going to require businesses to run prospective employees through a computer clearance with all the paperwork and costs that will entail, we are also moving in for a drastic federal oversight and probably a quagmire of potential litigation.

Ultimately, the government will "possess a readily available list of every person to which a firm has offered a job," which please reassure lawyers and EEOC attorneys wishing to file civil rights claims but could cause nightmarish service delays to small and large businesses alike, says Mr. Anderson.

Mr. Simpson's proposal is based on the belief that millions of Americans are unwittingly hiring illegal immigrants, though there is no evidence this is happening.

While, obviously, some hiring of illegal aliens does go on, the Simpson plan for government computer network regulation is going to lessen such abuses. It will just mean that undocumented workers will go to greater lengths to find loopholes in the system. "The price of fake documents and acceptable Social Security numbers will go up, but there is no reason to believe the immigration crisis - if immigration is what we are now going to require businesses to run prospective employees through a computer clearance with all the paperwork and costs that will entail, we are also moving in for a drastic federal oversight and probably a quagmire of potential litigation.

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As a result, women are no longer high on anybody's affirmative action list. Employers would prefer to fill positions with blacks, Hispanics and Asians to satisfy federal and state demands of preferential hiring.

"The diminishing returns of affirmative action programs are obvious," says retail consultant Alan M. Berson. "You've got fewer high school graduates today, so there are fewer minority students who could graduate from college and be available for affirmative action programs."

Women have seen the gains of affirmative action programs. As Miss Ladowsky puts it, "That's so white male you're not going to get to see it from the inside."

Despite mumbled warnings about the "glass ceiling," women have gained executive status, for which under-educated minority students have been experiencing for a decade. Limited job slots, competition for promotions, hindered by other kinds of special treatment reserved for minority candidates.

Women are doubly jeopardized if they choose to stay home and raise their children, because their husbands face prejudice that has become a corollary of affirmative action programs. As Mrs. Ladowsky puts it, "That's so white male you're not going to get to see it from the inside."

Despite mumbled warnings about the "glass ceiling," women have gained executive status, which is a stunning rise from 1.5 percent 20 years ago. The wage gap between men and women is also down dramatically when full-time work is the model for comparison. A woman between 27 and 33 who does not take time off for child rearing earns 98 percent of what a man earns in a comparable position.

Such success breeds contempt for all women rising as victims. Many white women, like many black conservatives, resent the implication that they got their job or qualified for admission to a top-rank university, for reasons other than merit. They don't want an affirmative-action asterisk put next to their names.

Older women concede that affirmative action programs changed cultural attitudes and softened public opinion to help them achieve non-traditional positions that they had been barred from years earlier. But now many middle-class women who had willingly taken their chances on a level playing field. Affirmative action's fair goals often turned out-reach and opportunity into man-stars and quotas.

In June, 1994, senators will vote on a "Civil Rights Initiative" to repeal state-mandated affirmative action regulations. Early public poll-suggest that a majority of women, who make up 53 percent of the California electorate, will vote for it.

The president and the Republican presidential candidates promise lively debates on affirmative action in the coming election. There is no indication that they stand may ultimately depend on where the women of this country sit. Now that affirmative action...
The cost of labor is the single most important cost of doing business. In the 1970s, labor costs in the United States rose rapidly and were a major factor in the declining competitiveness of American industry. However, in the 1980s employers began getting their labor costs under control again. Unfortunately, this often involved painful cuts in pay and benefits that led to strikes, lockouts and plant closures. However, out of this wrenching adjustment has emerged a leaner and meaner industrial structure in the United States, capable of competing internationally with the best that Europe and Japan have to offer.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has recently released 1994 data on hourly compensation costs in 24 countries that show just how successful American firms have been at controlling labor costs. These data are for production workers in manufacturing and include not only wages, but mandated and contract benefits as well. They indicate clearly that American industry is extremely competitive.

As the figure shows, Japan, long noted for its low labor costs, has jumped well ahead. Japanese manufacturing workers are now paid 25 percent more than their American counterparts. Wages in Europe as a whole average 15 percent higher than here.

Of course, many developing countries continue to have pay levels well below ours. Hourly compensation in the newly industrializing countries of Asia — Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore and Taiwan — averaged $5.77 per hour and just $2.61 in Mexico.

While American workers may envy the generous compensation of their European and Japanese counterparts, they should remember there is a price to be paid in terms of unemployment. The unemployment rate has risen by 40 percent over the last three years in Japan and by 60 percent in Germany. Forecasters have recently halved their growth forecast for Japan this year to just 1.3 percent, and Toyota is now planning the first significant layoffs in its history.

Nevertheless, these data are likely to add fuel to the growing trade dispute between the United States and Japan. They appear to support U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor’s contention that Japanese protectionism is at the root of the U.S.-Japan trade deficit. With labor costs so far below those in Japan, American exports to Japan ought to be booming. The fact they are not, he contends, must be due to formal or informal trade barriers.

Bruce Bartlett is a senior fellow with the National Center for Policy Analysis and a contributing writer for The Washington Times.
Wisdom in the dissent
THOMAS SOWELL

The recent Supreme Court decision declaring state term-limit laws unconstitutional is one of the strongest arguments for putting term limits on Supreme Court justices. People with lifetime appointments too easily begin to act like little tin gods instead of people who were put on the bench to uphold the law.

The issue is whether term-limits are good or bad policy. The issue is whether judges are misusing their power by imposing their own policy notions and making phony claims is this what the Constitution says?

Justice Clarence Thomas' dissent says it all: "Nothing in the Constitution deprives the people of each state of the power to prescribe eligibility requirements for the candidates who seek to represent them. The Constitution is simply silent on this question."

While the Constitution was silent, Justice John Paul Stevens was full of rhetoric as he tried to justify the 5-to-4 majority's striking down of state term-limit laws. According to Justice Stevens, "a state-imposed restriction is contrary to the fundamental principle of our representative democracy embodied in the Constitution that the people should choose whom they please to govern them."

There is no such statement in the Constitution. Justice Stevens' quote is from a 1969 decision, not the Constitution. This is not the first time Justice Stevens has confused what some other court has said with what is in the Constitution and it probably will not be the last.

More fundamentally, the principle itself is contradicted by the Constitution which does not allow voters to "choose whom they please." It specifies the age and citizenship requirements for members of Congress and for the president of the United States, including an amendment limiting how many terms a president may serve.

If the voters could "choose whom they please," they could elect people younger than the ages specified in the law or elect a president for a third term. So Justice Stevens' sweeping rhetoric is so much hot air.

The crux of the issue in this case is the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, which says: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." In other words, if the Constitution doesn't forbid it, the people can do it.

That principle has long stuck in the craw of the anointed who want to run our lives from Washington. Activist judges have stretched and twisted words beyond recognition to get around that constitutional principle.

Justice Stevens carries on this evasive tradition. His majority opinion says, "The power to add qualifications is not within the original powers of the state, and thus is not reserved to the states by the 10th Amendment."

This turns the 10th Amendment upside down. Instead of having all powers not specifically mentioned being left to the states and the people, only the powers actually exercised at the time of the Constitution's adoption belong to the states and the people in Justice Stevens' revised edition of the Constitution.

Like so many court decisions with no basis in the written law, the decision declaring term-limits unconstitutional is long on rhetoric. It quotes the Gettysburg Address, for example, on "government of the people, by the people, and for the people"—in order to shoot down what the people voted for, namely term limits.

The Gettysburg Address was one of the great speeches of all time. But no one ever claimed it was a legal document determining what was constitutional or unconstitutional. But, even if it were, Justice Stevens used the quote for purposes directly the opposite of what Lincoln said.

More rhetoric in lieu of law was used by Justice Stevens, when he said that term limits would "erode the structure envisioned by the framers—a structure that was designed, in the words of the preamble to our Constitution, to form a 'more perfect union.'" If justices are going to decide cases, not by what the Constitution actually said but by what they choose to claim the Framers envisioned, then that is a blank check for judicial activism. So is the notion that judges' ideas about what will form a "more perfect union" should determine the outcome of cases.

This case was ultimately not about term limits. It was about whether we are to be ruled by law or by judicial edicts reflecting the kind of world envisioned by an anointed elite who brazenly attribute their own policy preferences to the Constitution.

The fact that five justices chose to go the route of pious fraud is one of the strongest arguments for term limits for judges.

Thomas Sowell, an economist and a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, is a nationally syndicated columnist.
The decision against term limits for Congress demonstrates that hard cases can make good law, too. There hasn't been a more challenging or more important constitutional question to come before the Supreme Court of the United States in many a year.

That the term-limits case out of Arkansas should have been decided by the narrowest of margins testifies to its difficulty: it is the Mysterious Chinese Puzzle of constitutional law, not so much a matter of political depth of concern that reflects the genius of American law and metaphysics. That the diverse decisions this case inspired - the decision of the federal court's majority, concurring and dissenting opinions, an opinion Alexander Hamilton surely would have applauded: "The Framers split the atom of sovereignty. It was the genius of their idea that our citizens would have two political capacities, one state and one federal, each protected from incursion by the other. There can be no doubt, if we are to respect the republican origins of the nation and preserve its federal character, that there exists a federal right to citizenship, a relationship between the people of the nation and their national government."

Mr. Justice Kennedy almost persuaded, although some of us would prefer that he had stuck to describing the federal government as federal rather than national. There still is a difference. Whether the American people are yet, or ever will be, a nation in the European sense of ethnic identity remains in doubt. But in his decision, Justice Kennedy went to the heart of this question about state and federal relations without being distracted by innumerable lesser problems and precedents. The kind that tend to obscure the nature of the American Union and make it a machine instead of an organism. If the experiment called America is a nation, surely ours is a nationality of great, overriding, and unifying ideas - much like those Anthony Kennedy invoked and relied upon in his opinion and insight.

The response of the minority in the dissenting opinion by Clarence Thomas relies on the 19th Amendment, which reserves to the states or the people those powers neither delegated to the federal government nor barred to the states. "The Constitution is simply silent on this question" of term limits, the minority opinion debatably declared. "And where the Constitution is silent, it raises no bar to action by the states or the people." And did not the people of Arkansas approve this term-limits amendment overwhelmingly? Thomas Jefferson would surely applaud:

This line of reasoning is stronger, and more forthright, than the argument that this term-limits amendment doesn't limit terms, but only keeps the names of longtime incumbents off the ballot. The majority saw through this logic as the evasion.

The essential difference between Justices Thomas and Kennedy would seem to be the definition of that majestic but slippery concept in uniquely American thought, We the People. Who is this people? Are we citizens of the United States, or of the united states, or both, and, if so, must we be consulted as whole or ranked by states?

In this case, Justice Kennedy does indeed view We the People as a nation indivisible. Justice Thomas may not doubt so grand a concept, but sees the will of the people being voiced, just as it is in the Electoral College, through the serried but beautifully asymmetrical ranks of the states. In the Electoral College, however, the result is singular, or should be: a clear expression of the federal will beyond question. If states may choose to limit congressional terms or not, how can that be the expression of one will, as in From Many One? Then again ....

Oh, what almost talismanic riches are contained in just this one question. Which view is right? One might as well ask which piece of art is right. It would take both a Machiavelli and a Montesquieu to offer a definitive answer, and they might disagree. The possibilities are many and changing and ever fresh; it's almost as beautiful a game as baseball, and only slightly less challenging intellectually.

Hey, what a country, or rather what a Constitution. How graceful in moving balance, how fecund in successive interpretations and possibilities. Yes, the most remarkable work to have been produced by the human intellect in modern times at a single political stroke, to loosely quote Gladstone. More important than which opinion in this case is stronger, is that both in the end generally treat as a great question with the thoughtfulness and thoroughness it deserved. No snap judgments or magikal incantations.

Or hardly any. And, glory be, here was a great constitutional divide over federalism and states’ rights, and it didn’t seem to involve the race issue at all. Who says we’re not making giant strides? Justices Kennedy and Stevens, in deciding against letting states set term limits for members of Congress, approached the high standard set by the Arkansas’ own Justice Robert Brown, when he reached a similar conclusion in language that was, perhaps, a bit less convincing but, on the other hand, much more clear, and to the point. Both high courts, state and federal, did well by the law and the Republic.

Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the Arkansas Democrat Gazette in Little Rock and a nationally syndicated columnist.
Memorial Day weekend marks the beginning of the long summer travel season. It's a time to kick off the world's cares and enjoy time at the beach, in the mountains or at the magnificent tourist attractions and festivals that are part of America.

But this year, Memorial Day also reminds us that time is running out for Congress to approve an essential upgrading of the nation's busiest, most heavily traveled roads and bridges. I'm talking about the National Highway System, 159,000 miles of our country's most important roadways.

No new taxes are needed for the highway system. The $13 billion that will be invested in renewing our roads in 1996 and 1997 will come from the Highway Trust Fund, which is financed by existing taxes on fuels, tires and other products highway users buy.

Congress must act by Sept. 30, 1995, or funding for the NHS will be withheld, and so will the improvements on its roadways.

We'll see the importance of the NHS during this weekend of intense travel. It will be a reminder of the importance of good, safe highways to all of us.

And it's a reminder, too, of the role tourism plays in our country's economy.

Tourism is a $416 billion industry that has created 6.2 million American jobs — more than any industry except health services. For more than a decade, travel and tourism have created new jobs more than twice as fast as the rest of the economy.

Travel and tourism have also become the nation's leading export. Last year, 44 million international visitors spent $75 billion to visit the United States.

But travel and tourism, and the jobs they create, depend on good, safe highways. The improvements the NHS will make on the nation's most heavily used roads and bridges will cut congestion, increase access and improve safety.

Better highways will ease transfers for foreign and domestic visitors. And 53 border crossings with Canada and Mexico will promote both tourism and trade. Highway travel will be more inviting for millions of domestic and international travelers.

Travel is just one reason why the NHS is needed. There's also a growing reliance on cars and light trucks that is creating a demand for greater capacity and better services on the nation's roadways. In the past two decades, travel by car has increased 75 percent. And between 1980 and 1990, the number of passenger cars increased almost twice as fast as the population.

The greater use of highway travel for commuting, personal errands, shipping raw materials and finished products — as well as for recreation and leisure — makes the NHS a strategic investment.

The NHS will bring 95 percent of the businesses and 90 percent of the households within five miles of quality highway service. It will modernize and improve the highways that carry 40 percent of urban traffic, 42 percent of rural travel and 75 percent of commercial truck traffic.

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Better highways will cut congestion by eliminating bottlenecks, reducing drive-time, increasing access to affordable housing and to jobs, and easing the burden of working parents who need ready access to child care, medical services and schools.

And the NHS will improve safety through better traffic flow and highway designs that increase visibility. Lanes will be widened and intersections made safer. If NHS safety features reduce fatality rates by only 2 percent, more than 4,000 lives would be saved in 10 years.

Safety is on everyone's mind on a major travel weekend like Memorial Day.

Getting Congress to pass the NHS before time runs out, and making certain it is fully funded, is more complicated than it seems. The Clinton administration wants to use the money motorists paid in highway taxes to bail out public transit systems, build a new headquarters for the U.S. Department of Transportation, subsidize Amtrak and pay bureaucrats' salaries and overheat.

If that happens, the price we would pay would be a further deterioration in roadways and bridges that already have fallen into a serious state of disrepair.

That's why the start of the summer travel season is the right time to insist that those who represent us in the House and Senate should act now to pass a fully funded NHS.

That's our money they're holding. Those are our roadways that need repair. And those are our lives, and often our livelihoods, that are on the line.

If Congress is going to keep faith with the American motorists who pay their taxes for better highways, then Congress must make the National Highway System its No. 1 transportation priority.

Aubrey King is executive director of the Travel and Tourism Government Affairs Council.
Laying to rest the POW/MIA issue

By J. Thomas Burton, Jr.

This Memorial Day finds our nation reflecting more than ever on the Vietnam War — recent disclosures questioning our country's commitment and the debate on normalizing relations with Vietnam have brought forth all of the issues and emotions surrounding the war. However, no matter where you stand, never reshape the view we have of our country.

What has become lost in all the heated discussion, however, is the fact that more than 100 million people died in their struggle for freedom. The communists are the world's blood-stained champions.

In the 16 months since the signing of the Paris Accords, the Vietnamese government has for the first time shown the magnitude of Stalin's murders. They are the victims of communism.

The Missing Service Personnel Act calls for the Department of Defense to attempt to account for all missing persons who served in Vietnam. The number of unaccounted-for Americans who served in Vietnam has been everywhere admitted — and the family members have been wantonly murdered by the communist dictator of the Soviet Union. About communism and why we lost the Cold War, at such great expense in blood and treasure.

The act provides for a standard set of criteria to be applied in the determination of death. Once a missing person has been declared dead it is committed to so urgent an education of our country.

The Vietnam War ended almost two decades ago, yet as today's papers testify American still have not put all the scars from the war behind them. The Vietnam Memorial has received widespread, well-deserved recognition for its efforts on behalf of both the men and women who served, as well as their families. The families of missing servicemen deserve recognition for their efforts on behalf of those who served, and the Vietnam Memorial is the place to do it.

The families find the results acceptable. Learning a loved one has passed away can at least be accepted if the information is compelling. Hearing a loved one had been declared dead without conclusive evidence is excruciating.

In the name of the victims of communism

By Lee Edwards

For all their considerable political differences, President Bill Clinton and Speaker Newt Gingrich are agreed on one thing: they are both thoroughly sick of北京 Washington for the countless victims of communism.

In his September 1994 speech to the National Association of Counties, Mr. Gingrich co-sponsored and the president signed Public Law 103-199, which authorizes a government-run "appropriate international memorial" for the victims of communism in the Nation's Capital, where millions of tourists and every President and Member of Congress can visit it.

In their deliberate mass murder of civilians, the communists are the world's blood-stained champions. According to conservative estimates, over 100 million people have been wantonly murdered by the communist dictators of the Soviet Union, China, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos and Cuba since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. According to conservative estimates, over 100 million people have been wantonly murdered by the communist dictators of the Soviet Union, China, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos and Cuba since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

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To ensure that such unprecedented crimes against humanity are not forgotten, the president and the Congress established the Victims of Communism Memorial. The Memorial's purposes are:

- To commemorate the more than 100 million innocent people who died at the hands of Lenin, Mao and Stalin.
- To educate visitors to the National Capital, particularly young people, about communism and why America and other nations fought against the Cold War, at such great expense in blood and treasure.
- To research and study the effects of communism on those it has controlled and still controls, subjugated and still subjugates, threatened and still threatens.

The Memorial will not be just a statue in a park. At its center will be a multi-story museum and research center. It will be a place, like a barracks in the Soviet Gulag, for visitors to understand the cell of the "Hanoi Hilton." There will be oral histories, original documents, and documents detailing the communist holocaust from its bloody birth in 1917 through the deaths of more than 100 million people in China, Vietnam, Laos, and the Soviet Union in the 1930s and the killing of Cambodia in the 1970s to the labor camps (the 'lao'] of the 1980s.

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Equality of intelligence

"Wouldn’t it be wonderful if everyone in the world were absolutely equal," late novelist Mary McCarthy said to me in her last years, with as close to a dreamy look as that literary lady ever displayed. "What do you mean ‘equal’? I said, always picky. ‘I can see why you were downwind, could be distracting.'" Miss McCarthy exclaimed enthusiastically.

How long would that intellectual excitement last? Two days? Two minutes? Perhaps until she used the same material circumstances.

But there’s much confusion in the public mind between equality before the law and “equality of condition” — Mary McCarthy’s equality. Variations in ability have required murderous coercion, and I hold it to be not only unattainable but if attained unspeakable inefficient and unproductive.

As Johns Hopkins researcher Robert E. Slavin explains, “Kids aren’t smart or dumb. They’re just different in the way they learn best.”

But of all the mad quests for equality now afoot, the drive for equal intelligence is the most lunatic. Ever heard of “ability grouping” in American public schools? That outmoded, almost fascist system of sorting students by test scores and academic ability? Currently held responsible for promoting competition instead of cooperation? As well as perpetuating racial gaps? Well, an influential and growing group of educators thinks that ability grouping should be scrapped. Of a group of 570 secondary school administrators recently polled, 18 percent have already done it, replacing it with “mixed ability” classes. Another 7 percent will do so shortly. And still another 36 percent are considering it. That makes 61 percent.

As John’s Hopkins researcher comments: “We are the Vanguard. But of all the mad quests for equality now afoot, the drive for equal intelligence is the most lunatic. Ever heard of ‘ability grouping’ in American public schools? That outmoded, almost fascist system of sorting students by test scores and academic ability? Currently held responsible for promoting competition instead of cooperation? As well as perpetuating racial gaps? Well, an influential and growing group of educators thinks that ability grouping should be scrapped. Of a group of 570 secondary school administrators recently polled, 18 percent have already done it, replacing it with ‘mixed ability’ classes. Another 7 percent will do so shortly. And still another 36 percent are considering it. That makes 61 percent.

As Johns Hopkins researcher Robert E. Slavin explains, “Kids aren’t smart or dumb. They’re just different in the way they learn best.”

Mixing children of different abilities exposes the conventionally bright ones to “other kinds of intelligence,” he says, which greatly benefits the ones who are less bright. But how much good does it do the bright ones?

A University of Michigan researcher showed that after only a single year of dumbed-down “mixed ability” classes, gifted students had dropped behind their peers who’d remained in classes, gifted students had dropped behind their peers who’d remained in the old classes — and lost at least half an academic year. And still another 36 percent are considering it. That makes 61 percent.

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Saving us from jaws of sincerity

THOMAS DIBACCIO

To reunite history with the holidays

with America" that pledges to rec-
tify past legislation, it stands to rea-
son that federal tinkering with hol-
day time ought to come to an end.
Memorial Day is a classic case in
which American holidays, it has origins that most citizens can-
not recount. Schoolchildren and adult Americans can give at least
some semblance of the origins of Thanksgiving, Christmas, July Fourth, Labor Day, and even New Year's. But Memorial Day, well, that is a mystery of sorts, for the weekend for the big speed car
race.

In reality, the holiday originated in 1866 by the organization of Union veterans, the Grand Army of the Republic, for commemorating Union soldiers who gave their lives in the Civil War. The holiday was
dubbed Decoration Day — with the expectation that relatives and friends would spend the day deco-
rating the graves of the fallen with flags and flowers. And it was always
held on May 30, no matter when that day happened to fall on the calendar, although some former Confederate states devised their own commemorative date. Not until 1882 was the holiday called Memo-
ral Day — extending recognition to soldiers of all wars — but the date, in keeping with tradition, was still May 30.

Why May 30 was chosen in 1866 (a Wednesday in that year that isn't clear, but subsequent commemorations were committed to that specific date because history has accorded pri-

mary over leisure, it would be as for July Fourth, Christmas, New Year's, and later Veterans Day (which was also included in the Monday holiday list in 1966 but, as a result of opposi-
tion from veterans, was subsequently
ded October to November.)

As for other Monday holidays, it's difficult for Americans to get
ecited about Columbus Day when it falls, as it does this year, on Mon-
day, October 8. The Columbus Day holiday is the 500th anniversary of
Christopher Columbus reaching the New World, and it is observed on the second Monday in October. The holiday is intended to honor the
conquest of the Americas and to celebrate the diversity of cultures
that have contributed to the United States.

On the other hand, Veterans Day is celebrated on November 11, and is a day to remember and honor all who have served in the United States military. It is a day to reflect on the sacrifices made by those who have served, and to remember the fallen.
Conspiracy mania a deeply embedded, pervasive component in U.S. psyche By Sid Smith Chicago Tribune

CHICAGO "You say I've deliberately and criminally shut my ear to the national voice ... Where the hell have you heard that voice? In freight elevators? In dark alley? In secret places in the dead of night?"

"How did that voice seep into a locked room full of conspirators? That's not where you hear the voice of the people, not in this republic. You want to defend the United States of America, then defend it with the tools it supplies you with: its Constitution. You ask for a mandate from a ballot box. You don't steal it after midnight, when the country has its back turned."

The words might well be those of President Clinton decrying modern militia men eager to take defense into their own hands. For that matter, with slight revision, they might be the rallying cry of the militia members themselves.

In reality, the speech was delivered by actor Fredric March playing a fictional U.S. president in the 1964 thriller, "Seven Days in May."

It would be tempting to write off right-wing conspiracy buffs as fringe aberrants unable to sleep safe and sound like the rest of us. "I'm more afraid of them," a Michigan resident said of one militia on "Nightline" last month, "than I am of the government." You almost could see reassured faces nodding in relief across the land.

But a cursory survey of modern popular entertainment suggests conspiracy mania is not just a modern oddity or sideline, but an ongoing, deeply embedded, pervasive component in the U.S. psyche. If we are not all paranoid and suspicious of behind-the-scenes government corruption, we certainly love to read books and watch movies and television shows suggesting that we should be.

The second half of this century has seen an explosion in the pop conspiracy genre as striking as the evolution of the mystery novel in its first half. Though most of these works suggest that the government is inherently good, the scenarios fueling the plots imply it's also vulnerable to malevolent opportunists out to enslave the rest of us.

Tellingly, the rhetoric in these fictions is heating up as the century's end approaches.

"How can I disprove lies that have been stamped with an official seal?" indignant FBI agent Fox Mulder demanded of conspiring government superiors last season on Fox TV's: "The X-Files."

"You can deny all the things I've seen, all the things I've discovered, but not for much longer. Cause too many others know what's happening out there."

"And no one, no government agency, has jurisdiction over the truth."

Later, he tells his colleague and co-conspirator in anti-conspiracy, fellow agent Dana Scully, "This could blow the lid off one of the biggest national security conspiracies ever." Unlike the more conjectural times of "Seven Days in May," national conspiracies, Mulder suggests, now come in waves. It's the bigger ones we need to worry about.

The conviction that things are not as they seem in the corridors of power dates back to the 1940s and the anti-Communist obsession that insisted actual government agencies including the Truman State Department were flush with traitors. That begat the sci-fi craze of alien invasion in the '50s and then, more soberly, a genre involving government takeover of various sorts in the '60s. After John F. Kennedy's assassination, presidential homicide and secret maneuvers to influence presidential succession became a favorite "The President's Plane Is Missing" combined conspiracy and assassination in a government overthrow plot in the late '50s.

Back then, conspiracy paranoia tended to come from the Left. Director John Frankenheimer's "Seven Days in May" pits a liberal president (March) as target of a military takeover by the head of the Joint Chiefs (Burt Lancaster). Based on a bestseller by Fletcher Knebel and Charles W. Bailey, "Seven Days" reflects liberal views that right-wing militarists might take patriotism too far. Frankenheimer also directed "The Parallax View," based on a novel by Richard Condon, in 1963, detailing a conspiracy involving right-wing ideologues (Angela Lansbury and her McCarthy-like husband) and Pavlovian-programmed assassins. In this instance, the military (Laurence Harvey and Frank Sinatra) are merely the dupes. (Takeover of the military, or manipulation of its regimented, non-democratic power structure to subjugate society as a whole, is a familiar theme: Abel Ferrara's latest version of "Invasion of the Body Snatchers," titled just "Body Snatchers," last year relocated that entire story to a military base, where the society of seed-pod creatures cagily try to launch their infiltration by taking over tanks and soldiers first. Smart aliens.)

Conspiracy fiction and film got an unexpected boost in the '70s when Watergate and revelations about government spying stunned a public already skeptical of big bureaucracies and the military. The summer Richard Nixon resigned, "The Parallax View," directed by Alan J. Pakula, envisioned a secret corporation designed to train professional assassins to go after political figures, a system vaguely sanctioned and promoted by the government.

Commercially a small club of writers and directors are behind a lot of these. "Parallax" director Pakula also directed "All the President's Men," arguably the only movie about a bona fide government conspiracy, and much more recently "The Pelican Brief," inspired by novelist John Grisham, one of the reigning conspiracy writers of our time. (In turn, Grisham calls the 1975 "Three Days of the Condor," an anti-CIA thriller, his all-time favorite.)

In the most recent stories, the stakes are rising. In "Pelican Brief," the conspirators don't bother with the military; they target the branches of government, in a plot involving the president (Robert Culp) and a league out to assassinate Supreme Court justices whose views threaten an economic deal. Conspiracy is now so marketable it can even be funny: in "Dave," a lookalike is substituted for a president whose death is kept secret by his henchman eager to retain power.

Ultimately underlying all this may be nothing more sinister nor fringe than a dark view of human nature, not unlike the one behind film noir. Unlike film noir and villains past, however, the culpability lies not so much with individuals as with groups aggregate government committees with nameless members and the unfathomable mysteries of technology as their weapon.

One of the intriguing attributes of Fox's: "The X-Files" is the way, week after week, it combines and borrows from all the conspiracy fantasies of the past. Agent Mulder saw his sister kidnapped by aliens when only a boy. Now he's a grown man and an agent trying to unlock government secrets about alien invaders with green blood, vampires and plain old bureaucratic liars and plotters.

One scene this season had him and his helpmate conferring in the parking lot under the Watergate complex discussing Deep Throat. Another character was named The Lone Gunman. The threads linking conspiracy fiction are apparent even in in-jokes. "VR.5" a Fox show from last season whose conspiracy twist didn't save it from cancellation last week, nonetheless bore telling similarities to "The Prisoner" and "The Avengers," slightly sci-fi, slightly paranoid series from the 1960s. Sydney Bloom, the "VR.5" heroine, once had parents named Steed and Mrs. Peel of "The Avengers" lead
A sloppy rush to a decision with 10,000-year ramification is under way By Vincent J. Schoodoski Chicago Tribune

MERCURY, Nevada For four decades this spot on the map, a barren stretch of rangeland where the rush of wind offers the only challenge to silence’s reign, has been near the heart of a barren stretch of rangeland where the rush of wind offers the desert just north of here. A sloppy rush to a decision with 10,000-year ramifications is under way. And now, with the nation’s nuclear power plants fast running out of storage space for spent fuel, a sloppy rush to a decision with 10,000-year ramifications is under way.

While the Senate appeared on course to select Yucca Mountain, about 100 miles northwest of Las Vegas, as the permanent repository, the House passed a measure that ruled it out as the final resting spot. The House measure, part of the budget bill, instead designated the Nevada Test Site which surrounds Yucca Mountain as a “temporary” storage place until a final facility can be selected. Temporary was defined as 100 years.

All this has Nevada’s four-member congressional delegation up in arms and many state officials convinced that this vast but sparsely populated state was about to be saddled with tons of other people’s toxic garbage against its will.

Nevada, like many other Western states, has no nuclear power plants and recent polls show that the majority of Nevadans oppose accepting the waste. “We are convinced that temporary will turn into permanent,” said Karen Karchgasser, a spokeswoman for Sen. Richard Bryan, D-Nev.

Adding to the struggle is a dispute between some state and federal officials and the nuclear power industry over the need for haste in moving the waste, now stored at two temporary storage facilities should be developed.

Merkavik’s compromise proposal called for interim storage at two existing nuclear weapons facilities, one near Richland, Wash., and the second at the Savannah River site near Aiken, S.C. Two existing Senate bills, however, call for Yucca Mountain to be designated as the final repository now, and no other site is under consideration.

The debate about where to put the waste has been under way since Congress passed the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982, which required the Department of Energy to find a place to bury the stuff by 1998.

But a fierce political and scientific struggle delayed action. And now, with the nation’s nuclear power plants fast running out of storage space for spent fuel, a sloppy rush to a decision with 10,000-year ramifications is under way.

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“The federal government is by law and by contract obligated to take this fuel by 1998,” said Scott Peters, spokesman for the Nuclear Energy Institute, an industry association.
adequately protecting consumers.

Just last week Minnesota-based Northern States Power Co. moved the first spent rods from its crowded pools into above-ground storage in steel and concrete casks. The $30-million dry casks are designed to provide a place for the waste until 2002.

"There has to be a temporary solution," said James Howard, the company's chief executive officer. "How are we supposed to decide on something to last 10,000 years? It's absurd."

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Lawmakers to Rewire Communications Rules By Frank James and Jon Van, Chicago Tribune Knight-Ridder/Tribune Business News

WASHINGTON--May 28--Imagine your local power company providing not just electricity and light bulbs, but telephone service, too. Or your phone company doubling as your cable television supplier.

It may seem odd at first. But it could happen if congressional Republicans succeed in rewriting the Depression-era law governing the telecommunications industries.

The legislation could hasten the profound shifts already altering how information is distributed. It could also usher in the greatest telecommunications revolution since the breakup of Ma Bell's monopoly in 1982.

At the heart of the legislation, which is expected to move to the Senate floor for debate next week, is the Republican promise to bust up local phone and cable monopolies. More competition, lower prices and new and better service for consumers will result, they say.

Critics dispute this, arguing that the proposals would strengthen existing monopolies and stifle competition.

Some independent burglar-alarm dealers, for instance, fear that they could be put out of business by provisions that would allow regional phone companies into their field.

Like some other enterprises, such as cable television operators, they worry that the phone companies will be able to underprice them and then, once they have cleared out smaller competitors, raise prices at will.

While Republicans are determined to rewrite telecommunications laws, the final scope and outcome of the new legislation is far from certain.

Other attempts to amend federal communications laws in the last two decades have withered and died. Indeed, last fall a bill cleared the House by a wide, bipartisan margin only to lose momentum in a Senate committee in the days before November's elections.

Meanwhile, Republicans themselves disagree over key features of the legislation. And the Clinton administration has knocked the Republican proposals as not adequately protecting consumers.

The measures also are likely to be recrafted - if not killed outright - as lawmakers respond to lobbyists who, with billions of dollars at stake, are vying to shape the bills to help their cause while hobbling the competition.

But a telecommunications overhaul is a priority for Congress' two most powerful leaders: House Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas.

Democrats generally like the proposals, too, which showed in the lopsided 39-5 vote by which the House Commerce Committee passed its bill Thursday and the 17-2 vote by which the Senate Commerce Committee approved its measure in March.

"Of all the attempts in the last 20 years, this has the greatest likelihood of happening," says Brian Moir, a lobbyist with the International Communications Association, a group that represents business customers of telecommunications services.

The lengthy and complicated bills in Congress essentially would let local phone companies into the cable TV business while permitting cable operators and electric utilities into the local phone business, though the timing of these market openings varies under the Senate and House measures.

Local phone companies also would be allowed to offer long-distance service, while long-distance carriers would gain entry to the lucrative local phone markets, now dominated by the seven regional Baby Bells.

Furthermore, the legislation eventually would free cable and phone companies to raise customer prices without first getting approval from state regulators.

And, for the broadcast media, the bills would allow companies to accumulate many more radio and TV stations and generally end cross-ownership prohibitions that keep newspaper publishers from buying TV stations in their home markets.

If these provisions are enacted, a Chicago home might get cable TV and long-distance phone service from Ameritech Corp.; local phone service from MCI Communications Corp.; and watch programs from a broadcast station owned by the publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times.

The aim, congressional supporters say, is to sweep away regulations that protect existing local and regional powerhouses and create a competitive free-for-all. To get there, Republicans want to undo what they see as heavy-handed provisions of the Communications Act of 1934.

A legacy of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal administration, the act sought to protect consumers and promote commerce by regulating the terms of competition for phone companies and broadcasters.

It also distinguished between information transmitted through air or by wires and assigned different regulators to watch them.

But that "regulatory apartheid," as one Republican sponsor has called it, is outdated in today's era of cellular phones, the Internet and interactive television, the bills' supporters say.

Some of what Republicans aim to bring about by legislation is already happening, albeit piecemeal, in Chicago and elsewhere, with state regulators, courts and corporations moving in that direction as much as federal law permits.

Chicago-based Ameritech, for instance, has agreed to open its Chicago and Grand Rapids, Mich., markets to full-blown competition in exchange for permission to start offering long-distance service.

New alliances also are forming between telecommunications firms and companies in related industries as they gird for the future.

In just the last few weeks, several of the biggest names in the electronic media have announced partnerships, including an MCI Communications Corp. and News Corp. venture under which MCI will invest $2 billion in the Rupert Murdoch-controlled media conglomerate.

Yet even as traditional barriers are scaled in selected markets and historic distinctions are blurred by mergers, overall advances have been slowed because there is no longer a single, national rule governing these matters.

Congressional action could simplify things, imposing a federal law that would supersede various court orders and state directives.

"The new law will give unprecedented new power to American consumers and to America's creative and business
leaders," said Sen. Larry Pressler (R-S.D.), chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee and author of the Senate's telecommunications bill.

"We will be free from a complex structure of burdensome and outdated big government regulations," Pressler said at a hearing earlier this year.

Critics of the legislation insist that they also favor amending the current law. But they argue that the measures offered by the Republican majority would abet telephone and cable monopolies rather than bridle them.

A major problem, they say, is that the proposals would end regulations before any real competition would exist in many markets. Under these conditions, monopolies could keep their hold in their current businesses and expand into new areas.

"Beneath the veneer and rhetoric of competition are fundamentally anti-competitive, pro-monopoly provisions that will preserve cable and phone monopolies," says Gene Kimmelman of Consumers Union.

"We may end up with greater monopolies and fewer consumer protections, and that's the worst of both worlds," agrees Michelle Harris, a spokeswoman for the National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners.

Critics recall deregulation backfiring before. After Congress lifted restrictions on the cable industry in 1994, many cable companies raised prices so steeply Congress reregulated the industry in 1992.

Opposition to the current versions of bills includes people such as Michael Simon, who owns a security-alarm business in Watonga, Ill., called Stand Guard, which he built over 20 years from a one-man outfit operating out of a car trunk to a firm with 12 employees.

Under the legislation, regional Bell phone companies would be allowed into the alarm-monitoring business nationally.

Small firms like Simon's worry that these giants would use their technology to unfair advantage, by monitoring or reviewing phone bills to find an alarm company's customers and then soliciting the customers to their service.

Despite assurances of fair play from Ameritech, "we don't trust them," says Simon flatly. "Once there's true competition, then all is fair in love and war. But right now, they're a monopoly that can use our money to steal our customers and put us out of business."

A bigger objection may come from Republicans themselves. In the Senate bill, sponsors want to raise $7 billion from the telecommunications industry to ensure that rural and low-income areas wouldn't be abandoned once companies are freed to get out of unprofitable markets.

The Congressional Budget Office determined, however, that the $7 billion must be considered a new tax - anathema to the Republican-controlled Congress.

Some industry executives believe that may doom the bill.

"The odds are against any legislation this year," says H. Brian Thompson, chief executive of LCI International of McLean, Va., a long-distance carrier.

A dispute also exists in the House over whether the Justice Department should oversee the entry of individual phone companies into the long-distance business.

Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, which oversees the Justice Department, wants the department to have an oversight role, so that his committee can have some say-so over such vital interests.

But the rules in this area are fluid, with many recent changes appearing to favor workers who want more flexibility to change jobs, regardless of their health problems or those of their dependents.

Legislative efforts now underway in Washington and Springfield propose to end the "job lock" reality for many workers in the U.S. because of the way many insurers and employers write health insurance coverage, usually for a limited time.

While there are no firm figures on how many people can't afford to change jobs because of concern about being accepted by a new health plan, rough estimates put the number nationwide in the millions.

So any worker at any company can look around and find, quite easily, a co-worker who can't change jobs without jeopardizing insurance coverage for himself or a family member.

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Legislative efforts now underway in Washington and Springfield propose to end the "portability" problem altogether for many workers who already have health insurance. (These measures would do little to help those without health insurance, or those who need to buy health insurance as individuals.)

In Washington, U.S. Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.) has sponsored legislation that would enable workers who already participate in a group insurance plan to switch jobs without fear of losing coverage for previously identified health problems. The bill has support from all members - Democrats and Republicans - on the Health Subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee, said a Thomas spokesman.

Similarly, a bill before the Illinois legislature would have required all businesses that offer group employee health insurance in Illinois to do the same. The legislature adjourned late Friday without taking action on the bill.

Many states other than Illinois already have adopted similar laws that make health insurance more portable for workers who need to switch jobs.

And some large firms, such as Baxter International Inc. in Deerfield, which employs 53,500 worldwide, have taken action on their own. Earlier this year, Baxter stopped screening new employees for previous health problems, dropping its pre-existing medical condition exclusion, said Kent Cato, manager of benefits communications for Baxter.

"Senior management made the decision last year that, being a leader in health care, we had a certain responsibility in the field," he said. "This was the right thing to do."

Baxter, however, is still in the minority among corporate America on this issue.

"The administration supports the goal of competition in the telecommunications industry...," Commerce Secretary Ron Brown said in a recent statement. But he asserted that the Senate and House "proposals, among others, will be a direct hit on consumers' pocketbooks."

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Lawmakers' Plans Would Make Workers' Health Coverage 'Portable' By Marianne Taylor, Chicago Tribune Knight-Ridder/Tribune Business News

May 29-Somewhat remarkably, business groups, insurers and consumers appear to agree on one aspect of health-care reform: Workers covered by company-sponsored health insurance should not be discouraged from switching jobs simply because they, or family members, have a serious medical condition.

But such "job lock" is reality for many workers in the U.S. because of the way many insurers and employers write health benefit plans to exclude "pre-existing medical conditions" from new coverage, usually for a limited time.

While there are no firm figures on how many people can't afford to change jobs because of concern about being accepted by a new health plan, rough estimates put the number nationwide in the millions.

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Baxter, however, is still in the minority among corporate America on this issue.
A Bureau of Labor Statistics survey in 1993 found that of workers employed at larger companies, 57 percent were enrolled in health insurance plans that excluded pre-existing medical conditions from coverage for a period of time.

Pre-existing condition exclusions can apply to life-threatening illnesses such as AIDS and cancer, as well as more manageable, although serious, problems such as hypertension, and even short-term conditions such as pregnancy.

Under most group plans, the length of time an identified health condition will be excluded from coverage can last for as little as 90 days, or as long as a year, depending on how the plan has been written.

Few group plans exclude medical problems permanently from coverage, said Todd Swim, health actuary at Buck Consultants, although permanent exclusions used to be more common in group plans. Typically, the exclusion can last 6 to 12 months, he said.

President Clinton's failed effort to overhaul the nation's health-care system included the basic idea that no one should be denied health insurance because of pre-existing health problems.

While the Clinton approach failed because of disagreement over many aspects of the comprehensive plan, the limited idea of making health insurance more portable appears to have broad appeal across many interest groups.

The Health Insurance Association of America, which sponsored the controversial "Harry and Louise" advertising campaign that helped defeat Clinton's plan, supports the Thomas bill. So does the National Federation of Independent Business, which represents many small-business owners. Consumer groups also like the idea.

"Portability is a major issue. One should be able to move from job to job and have that health-care plan go with them," said Charles Inlander, president of the People's Medical Society, a non-profit consumer health advocacy group. "It's something that generally there's been consensus on."

"I think in general, employers are supporting this measure," said Sally Bullen, vice president for compensation and benefits at Kemper National Insurance Cos. in Long Grove.

"It would level the playing field so that one company doesn't end up with all the medically needy," she said.

Both the state and federal proposals would have the effect of freeing workers who already have group insurance coverage from one employer to move to another.

Any extra costs a company would bear because a new employee brings high medical expenses would likely be balanced by another "medically needy" employee's ability to leave, taking his or her high medical expenses with him, said Bullen.

"There could be some cost, but we think it will even out over time," she said.

"If you make changes in people's ability to get insurance, it should be across the board," said Larry Boress, vice president of the Midwest Business Group on Health. "All insurance plans should be under the same requirement."

The local group, which hasn't taken a formal stand on the Thomas bill, supports the idea of removing "job lock" as an issue as long as the same rules apply to everyone.

"If you've got tens of thousands of employees in your plan, it's not that big of a deal," he said. The shared costs in such a large pool tend to absorb the high costs of covered workers with high medical expenses. "But if you've only got six people in your company, it makes a big difference," he said.

Without rules that apply to everyone, few employers could afford to risk dropping their own pre-existing condition exclusion, he said. They fear finding their own employee population swelling with those who have expensive medical needs, sending the premiums they must pay for continued coverage skyward.

"We didn't ignore costs. But we didn't look at this as a cost decision," said Kent Cato, of Baxter, referring to his company's unilateral decision to stop screening new employees for medical problems. Asked if there was a worry that Baxter would now attract applicants with especially high medical needs, he said:

"We didn't change our hiring practices. We don't discriminate on the basis of medical condition. If we get more good candidates to choose from, that makes us a little more competitive."

Under the Thomas proposal, if a worker insured by a group plan doesn't allow his coverage to lapse for more than 60 days, he will be given credit for time he was enrolled in a group insurance plan with his former employer.

These "credits" can be applied to any waiting period his new insurance plan imposes for a pre-existing medical condition.

For example, say a worker has been employed for five years by one company, and has kept his group health insurance policy intact for all that time. He wants to join a new company that excludes coverage for pre-existing medical conditions for one year.

Even if he or a dependent has developed a serious medical condition in the last five years, he will be given credit for his continuous enrollment in a group plan that exceeds the exclusion period for the new company's plan.

The Springfield bill, sponsored by State Sen. Dan Cronin (R-Elmhurst), would work in a similar manner. It would give credit to employees who have had group insurance coverage, which could offset any waiting periods for pre-existing condition exclusions in a new health plan.

The plan outlined in the congressional bill is intended to help workers who "play by the rules and maintain continuous coverage," said Thomas, when introducing the bill earlier this month.

The legislation "is not intended to address every issue involved in the health-care debate. It focuses specifically on ensuring that individuals who participate in the group insurance system of this country are treated fairly by employers and insurers if the need to change insurance plans should arise."

The idea of extending such portability benefits to the "haves" in the realm of health insurance - those who have participated in an employer sponsored health plan - is not coincidental.

It gets to the heart of the nation's insurance system, which is built on the idea of shared risk. In essence, healthy people's health insurance premiums help pay the costs of sicker people, experts say.

Added Todd Swim, of Buck Consultants: "If people are allowed to opt in and out of coverage, and pay only when they're sick, it's a little like wanting to get fire insurance after your house burns down."

Willie Williams brought in to save the LAPD; now he has to save himself By Hugh Delligos Chicago Tribune

LOS ANGELES. For nearly three years, Los Angeles Police Chief Willie Williams has been struggling to repair his department's tattered reputation, winning praise for his efforts to mend fences with citizens who had come to fear and jeer the officers assigned to protect them.

With a smile almost as broad as his shoulders, the brawny and amiable chief has spent almost all of his time trying to
erase the indelible images of Los Angeles Police Department officers beating motorist Rodney King in 1991 and fleeing violent street riots in 1992.

Now, however, it is his own reputation that Williams is fighting to resurrect.

Accused of lying to his superiors, undermined by his own troops and criticized for not standing up to O.J. Simpson's lawyers, the popular chief found it necessary last week to appear before all of Los Angeles and defend his honesty.

"I am not a liar," a piqued Williams insisted at a press conference. "As the chief of police, I will not allow my integrity to be smeared."

Specifically, he was responding to a report that the Los Angeles Police Commission recommended reprimanding him for allegedly lying when he denied that he and his wife had accepted free hotel rooms during trips to Las Vegas.

But the latest crisis for the troubled police force reaches much deeper than that. Los Angeles' top cop finds himself embroiled in a ferocious power struggle stemming from festering resentment among his own officers, many of whom are still loyal to the legacy of divisive former chief Daryl Gates.

Hanging in the balance are the high hopes for police reform that Williams brought with him from Philadelphia when he took the department's reins just weeks after the riots.

"I think a lot of people are out to get the chief, and they're just looking for an excuse," said Detective Gary Fullerton, a director of the Los Angeles Police Protective League, an officers' union. "Given the position he started in, he has to do everything right. But he's definitely not doing everything right."

By the end of last week, Mayor Richard Riordan and the Los Angeles City Council were considering whether to reprimand Williams. Speculation swirled that Riordan, who appointed the police commission, wants to oust him.

Williams, 51, was hired in 1992 to lead the force primarily because he was the opposite of the controversial Gates. The first black and the first department outsider ever named chief, he set out to rework the force's racist, sexist and quasi-military reputation by installing a community policing philosophy and implementing operational reforms recommended in the wake of the King beating.

In the process, Williams became one of Los Angeles' most popular officials, especially in minority communities.

"Chief Williams has made great strides in restoring citywide public confidence in the department," said John Mack, president of the Los Angeles Urban League, at a rally in support of Williams in February.

But morale within the department understaffed and still reeling from nationwide ridicule plummeted, and Williams' aloof management style didn't help.

Rank-and-file officers criticized him for not jumping to defend the department against accusations by Simpson's attorneys that police conspired to frame him and that they botched the murder investigation against him.

The chief ran into further trouble in October, when a popular patrolman was killed in the line of duty. Williams waited two days before returning from a trip to Las Vegas, where he was celebrating his 28th wedding anniversary.

"I guarantee you Chief Gates would have been back here in an hour," said Fullerton, the union official. "Chief Williams is seen by the troops as a politician rather than a cop. He's more concerned about the public perception of the department than (about) his officers."

Williams also angered high-ranking holdovers from the Gates era by demoting one of Gates' former deputy chiefs and supporting an effort to strip commanding officers of their Civil Service protection. He hardly won any of them over when he hired as his personal attorney a woman who had led the campaign to oust the former chief.

His current troubles began in February, when the police commission received a letter from a retired deputy chief who said the force was rife with whispers about misconduct by the chief.

Among the unsubstantiated charges, Williams and his family were accused of misusing department cars and cellular phones, receiving complimentary tickets to city attractions and taking advantage of free rooms and meals on trips to Las Vegas.

The commission completed a probe of the allegations last week, and news of the recommended reprimand was leaked to the press. Also leaked were memos indicating the commission had been raising questions about Williams' management skills for over a year.

In performance reviews, the commission reportedly accused the chief of lacking "focus and discernible purpose in managing the department." The memo continued: "It is often unclear throughout the ranks exactly who is in charge, and who is making decisions affecting the operations and direction of the L.A.P.D."

Williams repeatedly has denied wrongdoing. At his press conference, he called the Las Vegas charges a matter of "semantics" and "miscommunication." He said he is not a gambler, visited Las Vegas six times for recreation and business matters and accepted no free services that were not available to the general public.

Further, he charged that the "distorted and selective" leaks were part of a political smear campaign. He did not name names, but his supporters allege that the campaign against him could reach as far up as the Riordan administration.

In February, the mayor issued a statement supporting the chief, but the two men's agendas have not coincided always. In 1993, Riordan made a campaign pledge to put 3,000 more police officers on the street, and he reportedly is not satisfied with Williams' progress toward that and other goals.

"I think there's frustration in the mayor's office that Willie Williams is not always marching to the drum they would like," said one City Council member.

In the meantime, community activists are worried that even if Williams survives his current troubles, he and the reform agenda will have been hobbed.

"My fear is how this will affect community policing in the long run," said Barry Greenberg, a business executive and police-reform advocate. "You can't talk about Willie Williams without considering what would be the alternative."

Environmetally Friendly Construction Means Big Savings By John Handley, Chicago Tribune Knight-Ridder/Tribune Business News

CHICAGO—May 28—Once the green machine gets rolling, it will become a money machine. Green means greenbacks, maintains Mark Ginsberg, director of the Federal Energy Management Program at the U.S. Department of Energy.

He estimates that the greening of the federal government will save $1 billion a year in energy bills. Private businesses have the potential to save much more.

"Greening will be the catalyst for prosperity in the 21st Century," Ginsberg predicted. "Energy efficiency and environmentally sound practices are good for business, they improve productivity, create greater profits, stimulate new technologies and new products, and are good for the economy."

Knight-Ridder/Tribune Business News

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Green power is produced by doing the right thing for the environment, but it's also the right thing for the bottom line of business.

Yet this potent force is still not widely understood. "There are many misconceptions about green construction," said Kevork Derderian, president of Continental Offices Ltd. in Chicago. "Most people think it costs 15 to 20 percent more than conventional buildings, and that's organic, like earth walls."

For a building to be green, it may include some or all of these features: Super windows (double glazed); daylighting (the maximum use of natural light); fluorescent lighting; energy-efficient computers; non-toxic paints; insulation with no chlorofluorocarbons; drywall made from recycled materials; an energy-efficient heating, ventilating, and air conditioning (HVAC) system; and native landscaping.

Buildings developed 10 to 20 years ago - without these green amenities - will be obsolete in 10 years, according to Derderian.

To demonstrate the latest technology, his firm plans to build a 307,000-square-foot green building in Rolling Meadows, following approval from the village and the signing of anchor tenants. From the outside, this new 10-story facility will look much like the other three existing 12-story office buildings at the Continental Towers office complex. Inside, however, it will be packed with state-of-the-art green technology, Derderian said.

Because of the special features, Derderian said the HVAC system can be downsized so that the annual energy bill will be reduced to $231,000 from the $504,000 in each of the existing buildings.

"Besides the 55 percent savings in operating costs, the building will offer better air quality and be more comfortable to work in. We will save $633,000 in HVAC equipment costs, but spend it on better instruments, insulation, and windows," he said.

Continental Offices Ltd. is the developer, manager, and leasing agent of Continental Towers, and developer and manager of the 40-story One Financial Place in the Loop. To create a plan for the world's most efficient green building, Continental has launched the Meritt Study in cooperation with several major corporations and the Rocky Mountain Institute, a nonprofit group promoting green buildings, located in Snowmass, Colo.

Primary members of the Meritt Study team include General Electric Co. for lighting; Carrier Corp. for heating and cooling; and Herman Miller Inc., a furniture manufacturer that has done research on how people will work in offices in the future.

Derderian hopes the Meritt Study will jump-start a trend. "Finding the right architect is another problem. Green buildings are enormously more pleasant and healthful to work in, and also yield rich financial rewards," he said.

Lovins predicted that the wave of the future will be in retrofitting old buildings to green standards.

"There's at least a $10 per square foot savings in retrofitting over new construction," he said.

A successful example of retrofitting in Chicago occurred at IBM Plaza, owned by International Business Machines Corp. and managed by Serbicor Inc. A major lighting retrofit in 1992 reduced lighting energy use by 62 percent, producing annual savings of $912,000.

William Browning, director of green development services at the Rocky Mountain Institute, cited Lockheed's new engineering development and design facility in Sunnyvale, Calif., as a prime example of the benefits of greening.

"The $50 million building added an extra $2 million for energy systems," Browning said. "The design included a central atrium to bring natural light into the core of the building."

The employee-friendly qualities of the 600,000-square-foot Lockheed facility resulted in a 15 percent drop in absenteeism and a 15 percent rise in productivity, he said.

"The reduced absenteeism alone covered the extra costs of the energy systems in just one year, and the increased productivity allowed the company to be more competitive," Browning said.

He stressed the importance of greening to commercial developers: A 1 percent gain in productivity is equivalent to paying for the entire energy budget of a building.

Daylighting (maximizing natural light) is important because in the typical office building, lighting accounts for a third of the electricity consumed. Atriums contribute to daylight in the interiors of buildings.

Browning explained that deep daylighting techniques involve light shelves that skim light from windows along ceilings and bring it down glare-free in the core of the building. The same effect can be achieved with "light pipes."

Here's a rundown on other green components: --The proper type of air conditioning is important because refrigerants have the potential to deplete the earth's ozone layer and contribute to global warming.

- Recycling is the one green characteristic with which people are most familiar. According to the Building Owners and Managers Association (BOMA), more than 75 percent of downtown office buildings already had recycling plans in place when Chicago's new recycling law went into effect Jan. 1.

--Indoor air quality - or the lack of it - is one aspect of a green building that may spur lawsuits. Helen Zukin, a Los Angeles-based attorney, said poor air quality may be caused by contaminated building materials, improper maintenance, or HVAC problems.

"In the future, the liability of building owners and developers will be held to a higher standard in air quality," she said.

Daniel Hitt, corporate chief engineer at Hines Interests Inc. in Houston, said, "Good indoor air quality costs money, but is ood for business, improves profitability, and can be used as a marketing tool."

One air quality goal is to reduce volatile organic compounds.
about two-thirds of the Serb population took flight. Although Croatian officials say the purpose of their military operation was to recover Serb-occupied territory, the net effect was to tip decisively the ethnic balance of Western Slavonia against the Serbs.

Many of the Serb refugees crossed into Serb-held territory in Bosnia and tried to make their way to Serbia, which together with Montenegro forms the rump Yugoslavia. To their astonishment, they were turned back at the Yugoslav border.

Instead, they were taken to this U.N. "safe area" in eastern Slavonia, one of two chunks of Croatia still controlled by rebel Serbs of the self-proclaimed Republic of Serbian Krajina.

"They wouldn't accept us in Serbia. The police made us come here. I feel like a prisoner," said Bogicevic. "Our crime is being Serb," added Nada Jaglicic, 27, another refugee waiting at Bapska. She, too, was bitter about her treatment at the Yugoslav border.

(EDITORS: NEXT 2 GRafs OPTIONAL)

"We are Serbs and we are not allowed in Serbia. They want us instead to go to some village on the front lines," said Jaglicic, who argued that she and her husband were young enough to find work in Yugoslavia and should not be forced to live in a war zone.

Yugoslav officials would not comment directly, but noted that they already have accepted some 500,000 Serbian refugees from Bosnia and Croatia over the last four years.

(EDITORS: NEXT 4 GRafs OPTIONAL)

A Krajina Serb spokesman in Vukovar, the major town in the region, denied reports that the rebel Serb government was keeping the refugees in eastern Slavonia in order to "improve" the ethnic balance of the enclave, which is now about 80 percent Serb.

"They are citizens of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Only here will they be able to enjoy their full rights as citizens," said Ljubinko Stojanovic, the spokesman.

The fighting season returns to Yugoslavia, forcing refugees to move By Tom Hundley Chicago Tribune

BAPSKA, Croatia They sat on what remained of their possessions and watched with hollowed eyes. Some wept silently. Others trembled with fear.

There were about 200 in all, most of them elderly. They had been routed from their homes three weeks earlier when the Croatian army opened a short, brutal campaign to reclaim part of its territory from rebel Serbs.

It is springtime in former Yugoslavia, the fighting season again. The plum trees have blossomed and the guns of ethnic hatred are blazing. For the fourth year running, thousands of refugees are on the move.

Dusanka Bogicevic, a 68-year-old Serbian woman whose thick wool skirts and sunburnt features marked her as a peasant, sat with the others on the lawn of the local elementary school in Bapska, a village in Serb-controlled territory a few miles beyond the Serbian border.

She was far from home, alone, and all that she owned was stuffed in a small handbag. She had been waiting all day with the others for buses that were supposed to take them to Serbia if they have family or friends there, "The first time was when I was a girl and the Ustashe came again and scattered reports of atrocities created a stampede for the border.

U.N. officials estimate that 10,000 to 12,000 Serbs crossed into Serbia if they have family or friends there, but according to the opinion all of the people responsible for taking care of them, it is better if they remain in this place.

Many of the refugees at the Bapska holding center said they felt they were pawns in a larger game being played out by Yugoslav leader Slobodan Milosevic, his Croatian counterpart, Franjo Tudjman; and the Western powers.

They suspect that Milosevic wants to make a deal with Tudjman in which Yugoslavia would get the portion of eastern Slavonia that is heavily populated by Serbs and rich in oil in exchange for the Serb-held parts of the Krajina in western Croatia.

"Milosevic and (Republic of Serbian Krajina President Milan) Martic they are both traitors. They are selling us to the West," one old man shouted. Others nodded in agreement.

(EDITORS: NEXT 2 GRafs OPTIONAL)

"These people decided that for their own good it was better to stay, so they fled with them," said John Campbell, head of the U.N. relief effort in the enclave.

Others have been placed in abandoned, heavily damaged houses, many of them quite near the front lines.

About 4,500 refugees already have flooded into eastern Slavonia. Another 6,500 are expected within a week.

The influx has frightened the Croats minority. In Bapska last week 83 Croats abandoned their homes and crossed into Yugoslavia, where they will seek repatriation to safer parts of Croatia.

"These people decided that for their own good it was..."
set in motion a violent chain of events that could force the U.S.-led NATO rescue mission to go into Bosnia-Herzegovina under hostile conditions.

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)

The military assessment prepared by NATO and the Pentagon envision U.N. peacekeepers taken hostage by both sides. It also foresees the "safe areas" of in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, Zepa, Srebrenica, Tuzla and perhaps even Sarajevo falling within a day or so to the surrounding Bosnian Serb forces, setting off a flood of Muslim refugees.

"If the Bosnian Serbs want the eastern enclaves, they can do it, and they can do it within 48 hours," said one administration official.

NATO has pledged to rescue U.N. peacekeepers, a commitment reaffirmed by President Clinton. Its planning anticipates that up to 50,000 troops half of them American would have to go in quickly under difficult conditions.

Defense Secretary William Perry, consulting with allies during travel in Europe, said the operational plan is "essentially complete." It envisions NATO using "overwhelming force" to be able to "readily defeat any opposition.... with an intimidating effect," he said.

(END: STORY CAN END HERE)

Codenamed "Determined Effort," the evacuation would be led by British Lt. Gen. Michael Walker, commander of NATO's new Rapid Reaction Corps, under the direction of NATO's southern commander, U.S. Adm. Leighton Smith.

As many as 10,000 U.N. peacekeeping troops now in Bosnia from NATO countries such as Britain, France, Canada, the Netherlands, Spain and Turkey would revert to NATO command. That means they would operate under NATO's more assertive rules of engagement.

They would be joined by U.S. troops arriving from Germany and by other alliance forces that would arrive with tanks, artillery and supplies.

A contingent of NATO technicians is in Croatia establishing a communications system for a NATO operation. Pentagon officials said the withdrawal would most likely be measured "in months, not in weeks," and cost well over $1 billion.

The Clinton administration cited that outlook in its efforts to persuade its allies and the U.N. commanders to try to at least buy some time by "toughening up" the U.N. peacekeeping.

The administration also leaned heavily on Boutros-Ghali to drop his plans to call for a sharp cutback of U.N. activities in Bosnia, including the withdrawal of peacekeepers from the vulnerable "safe areas." The U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, warned that abandoning those areas would lead to a humanitarian disaster and could lead Congress to authorize weapons sales to the Sarajevo government despite the U.N. arms embargo.

Administration officials haven't given up hope for a diplomatic breakthrough, though they were disappointed when talks with Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic fell through last week.

(END: STORY CAN END HERE)

U.S. envoy Robert Frusare held several promising meetings with the Serb nationalist leader on a deal that would suspend UN economic sanctions on Yugoslavia in return for recognizing the Bosnian Republic, a gesture intended to set back Bosnian Serb ambitions to join with Serbia.

Those talks broke down when Milosevic insisted he would recognize Bosnia only if the sanctions were permanently lifted, which the U.S. and its allies viewed as too big a giveaway.

Foreign ministers from the major powers "contact group" involved in negotiations the U.S., Britain,
Serbs capture more peacekeepers, shoot down helicopter carrying Bosnian foreign minister By Tom Hundley Chicago Tribune

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia: Far from backing down in the face of international condemnation, the Serbian army on Sunday rounded up more U.N. hostages and shelled civilian targets.

Serb forces also shot down a helicopter that was carrying Bosnian Foreign Minister IJran Ljubijankic, Deputy Justice Minister Izet Muhamedagic and several aides. All seven people aboard the craft were killed.

That incident occurred over the beleaguered Bijak enclave in northwest Bosnia-Herzegovina near the Croatian border. Rebel Croatian Serbs there claimed credit for the missile that downed the Mi-8 helicopter.

Ljubijankic, 42, was the second senior Bosnian government official killed by hostile fire in three years of war. The other, Hakija Turajlic, a deputy prime minister, was executed by Serb fighters while supposedly under U.N. protection in January 1993.

Elsewhere Sunday, Serb forces surrounded four U.N. observation posts near the so-called U.N. "safe area" of Gorazde and took 33 British peacekeepers hostage. Two other British units there escaped in a hail of gunfire.

Meanwhile, Serb artillery again rattled Tuzla, scene of Thursday's barrage that killed 71 people. One civilian was decapitated in Sunday's shelling.

By day's end, the Serbs were holding hostage at least 310 U.N. peacekeepers and other personnel, according to The Associated Press. Some are chained at strategic military locations as human shields to discourage NATO airstrikes.

Gen. Ratko Mladic, head of the Serbian forces, warned British Lt. Gen. Rupert Smith, commander of all United Nations troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that he could not guarantee the safety of the hostages unless four Bosnian Serb soldiers taken prisoner during a Saturday bridge firefight with French peacekeepers were promptly returned.

The Bosnian Serb army, led by Gen. Mladic, continues to behave like a terrorist organization, chaining unarmed peacekeepers to potential military targets as human shields.

"(The Serbs have been) threatening U.N. positions with force, holding guns to U.N. officer's heads, threatening to kill them and wearing U.N. insignia and uniforms," Ivanko said.

"All these actions could only be described as acts of terrorism and flagrant violations of the Geneva Conventions (on the conduct of war)," he added. Western journalists in Pale, capital of the Serb's self-proclaimed state, were denied permission to see the U.N. hostages.

The Serbs also have cut off electricity, gas, and water to Sarajevo since Thursday.

The Serbs began grabbing hostages on Friday after the second of two NATO airstrikes. The strikes were ordered by Lt. Gen. Smith after Serbs flouted a two-part ultimatum to stop shelling Sarajevo and to withdraw heavy guns outside the 12-mile exclusion zone around the Bosnian capital.

The ensuing standoff between the international community and the increasingly isolated Bosnian Serbs has pushed the crisis in the former Yugoslav republic to the brink. So far, the international community has had little more than tough words.

In London, however, signs of stiffening resolve were reported Sunday by Reuters news agency: Britain is increasing its deployment of troops to Bosnia in response to the seizure of the 33 British peacekeepers.

"The Ministry of Defense will be sending two artillery batteries and an armored engineer squadron to Bosnia as soon as possible," the government said in a statement after an emergency Cabinet meeting.

In Germany, Defense Minister Volker Rudeh told Die Welt newspaper for its Monday editions, "The dramatic situation shows the United Nations can't go on as it has. The blue helmets either must be given the means to fulfill their mission, or they must be withdrawn."

Die Welt also reported, without naming its sources, that American, British, French and Canadian commanders are being prepared for possible raids to free detained peacekeepers. No further information was available.

In a television interview Sunday night, French Premier Alain Juppe said his government is urging that U.N. troops in Bosnia be redeployed in larger, better armed groups.

"We can't continue to let small groups of U.N. troops be isolated in the middle of Serb troops. ... We must therefore regroup them so they are easier to defend."

Unless the troops can be reinforced, Juppe added, "one must consider starting a withdrawal plan."

U.S. officials said President Clinton's foreign policy team also favors bolstering the U.N. peacekeepers so they can respond more effectively.

A White House spokesman said, however, that there has been no change in Clinton's opposition to contributing U.S. ground troops to the U.N. peacekeeping force, despite the latest crisis.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN END HERE)

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright, Defense Secretary William Perry, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. John Shalikashvili and Deputy National Security Adviser Samuel Berger met in the capital to discuss the crisis.

At the urging of the Clinton administration and its Western allies, Russia has dispatched Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev and Defense Minister Pavel Grachev to the region in an effort to break the deadlock.

A visit by the two senior Russians to Pale would be treated as a major victory by the rebel Serbs, whose leader, Radovan Karadzic, has been named by the U.N. war crimes tribunal in the Hague as a possible war criminal, and who is precluded by international sanctions from traveling outside Serb-held territory in Bosnia.

Even if the Russians manage to extricate the hostages, the overall United Nations peacekeeping mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina would remain in jeopardy. The entire episode would be recorded as yet another humiliating U.N. capitulation in the face of Serb intransigence, strengthening the argument of those who say the mission has failed and should be withdrawn.

It also would be a serious setback for the NATO: the Western alliance's overwhelmingly superior firepower held at bay by the rag-tag Serb forces.

"Thus far, NATO has seriously discredited itself," said Ranko Petkovic, a political analyst in Belgrade.

"They promised to chop off the hands (of the Bosnian Serb Army). Instead, they delivered a slap on the wrists."

France, Germany and Russia plan to meet this week in Europe in an effort to agree on the next steps in Bosnia, whether that will be a new diplomatic effort or a hasty military retreat.
Thousands of Japanese would rather celebrate than apologize for WWII By Merrill Goozner

TOKYO: Tens of thousands of people who contend that Japan did nothing wrong in World War II will rally in Tokyo Monday against a parliamentary resolution apologizing for the country's wartime behavior.

The opponents of the resolution, including some leading politicians, will celebrate Japan's wartime goals.

Rally organizers say the war led to "many Asian countries attaining their independence." The rally also will express "mourning and gratitude" to all Asians who died in the war.

The resolution fight already has strained relations diplomatically with Japan at a time when it is trying to water without the whiskey.

"This is like whiskey and water without the whiskey," said Hidekazu Nakagawa, a professor of history at Waseda University and a leading scholar of Japan's wartime atrocities. "This is meaningless before it comes to a vote next month.

"The resolution was originally called an 'apology' resolution, then a 'renunciation of war' resolution, then a 'peace' resolution and now a 'peace resolution including mourning'," said Shinichi Arai, a historian at Surugadai University and a leading scholar of Japan's wartime atrocities. "This is like whiskey and water without the whiskey."

The conservatives' victory could prove embarrassing diplomatically to Japan at a time when it is trying to build support in the region for its hardline opposition to U.S. trade demands. Japan this week also protested China's resumption of nuclear weapons testing.

The resolution fight already has strained relations with South Korea and China, which suffered tens of millions of deaths at Japan's hands during the war. A newspaper poll released this week showed nearly half of all Chinese and more than 70 percent of South Koreans believed Japan's wartime actions hindered development of closer ties between their countries and Japan.

"This will retard Japan's image in Asia," warned Kazushige Ogawa, an international relations analyst. "And it won't be very good for Japan's stance as an economically oriented country, either."

The resolution, which was originally called a "peace resolution including mourning," has won support from most members of the largest party in parliament the right-leaning Liberal Democratic Party. It was organized by an association of families of the war dead that is headed by Trade Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, the would-be prime minister leading the charge against U.S. trade demands.

While several prime ministers have expressed Japan's apologies in the past, none has been backed by a parliamentary resolution. Former Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa in 1993 perhaps went the furthest when he said, "I always thought the war was one of aggression."

The fight over an official resolution threatens to thwart the legislation.

"Those pushing for the resolution have been brainwashed with the erroneous education prevalent in the postwar period, which characterizes Japan as an aggressor that caused great suffering on its neighbors," said 81-year-old LDP Dietman Seisuki Okuno, who was forced to quit the cabinet in 1988 after claiming Japan did not intend to invade China.

"The goal of the war was to set free Asian countries colonized by the U.S. and Western powers," he said.

With mainstream politicians increasingly willing to express such sentiments without public rebuke from either the press or fellow politicians, some of Japan's former colonial outposts are beginning to lash out in kind.

Korea, colonized by Japan in 1905, had its royal family killed, its economy decimated and its language nearly wiped out during Japan's 40-year rule.

A major motion picture released in South Korea last week to widespread acclaim portrayed a unified North and South Korea defeating Japan in a war by using nuclear bombs developed by the north. The movie, called "The Rose of Sharon Rising," included scenes of atomic bomb mushroom clouds rising over Japanese cities. Scenes from the movie were shown on a major Japanese television station.

Patent Piracy Emerging as Trouble Spot in U.S.-Brazil Trade Relationship By Laurie Goering, Chicago Tribune Knight-Ridder/Tribune Business News

RIO DE JANEIRO--May 29--In the United States, bringing a new drug to the shelves of the local pharmacy can cost $150 million in research, testing and marketing.

In Brazil, all it costs is a couple of bucks - the price of a stack of photocopies of the drug's U.S. patent, which are delivered to the Brazilian Ministry of Health by one of the country's copycat drug manufacturers.

"They don't even take the effort to type it," said an annoyed Leslie Ackerman, speaking for the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers Association of America.

"It's out and out robbery," added Peter Ludwig, a New York patent attorney.

Patent piracy - estimated to cost U.S. drug manufacturers $600 million a year in lost sales - is rapidly emerging as the most troubling thorn in an otherwise blossoming U.S.-Brazil trade relationship.

This South American nation, like Thailand, Singapore and a handful of other developing nations, has no patent law covering drugs and biotechnology.

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Patients on drugs registered abroad aren't recognized here, and pharmacy shelves are loaded with look-alike antibiotics, Valium, Prozac and other drugs manufactured by Brazil's copycat pharmaceutical firms.

The overseas patent holders, of course, aren't at all happy. During President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's investment-seeking trip to the United States last month, he was greeted with newspaper ads from the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers Association accusing Brazil of "blistant theft of U.S. intellectual property" and urging U.S. investors to snub Brazil until a patent law is passed.

Actually, he and other Brazilian leaders have been struggling for a decade to pass just such a law. But an odd combination of bumbling U.S. threats, scare tactics by greedy drug pirates and fears of new cures from the Amazon being snatched up by foreigners have so far combined to thwart the legislation.
Brazil's problems started more than 25 years ago, when the country's military government, bent on spurring the growth of national industries, dismantled many patent laws. Money lost to patent holders overseas, they figured, could better be sunk into developing the country's own research and manufacturing firms, which they hoped would make Brazil self-sufficient in producing high-quality drugs.

It never happened. Fledgling drug firms, struggling with the country's roller-coaster economy, rapidly figured out that the cheapest and surest way to produce new drugs was not to invest in research but to steal formulas from overseas. And the savings went into the pockets of the drug barons, not to consumers.

"One would have expected, if the reasoning of the nationalists was correct, the industry would have advanced a great deal," said Roberto Campos, a Rio de Janeiro congressional deputy and patent expert. "The reverse occurred."

Today, Campos said, Brazilian drug firms produce only 24 percent of the country's medicines, down from 50 percent in 1945. The rest are imported.

And prices are relatively high. Brazilian-made copycat drugs, including many of dubious quality and strength, are just as expensive here as their counterparts are in the United States or surrounding Latin American countries.

"It's incredible, but I've heard so many times people say, 'If I take Valium from Roche (the American manufacturer), I take one. But if I take the national (brand), I take two,'" said Ackerman, of the U.S. pharmaceutical association.

But overturning the failed nationalist policies and passing a new patent law hasn't been easy for Brazil.

The copycat manufacturers have lobbied the nation's National Assembly for years, saying that a patent law would lead to higher prices for drugs and put many out of the reach of average people.

That's a frightening threat in a country where many people earn only about $200 a month and face a terrifying array of illnesses, including malaria, cholera, meningitis, AIDS and leprosy.

Inevitably, some increases would occur. But Campos predicted prices would rise no more than 10 percent overall if the law went into effect, largely because the patents have already expired on 85 percent of the drugs used in Brazil anyway.

He said passing a patent law would only bring newer, more effective drugs to the country and spur foreign investment in research and manufacturing plants.

The lack of a patent law in Brazil is, in part, the fault of the United States. Eight years ago, the Brazilian Intellectual Property Association drew up a progressive patent bill widely expected to be approved.

But angry Brazilian politicians abandoned the bill after U.S. diplomats began demanding that the new measure be passed and threatening sanctions if it was not.

Today a weaker version of the bill, stuck in Senate committees for two years after being passed by the Chamber of Deputies, is slowly moving toward a Senate vote. But it still faces plenty of obstacles.

One is the fear that, once Brazil has a patent law, international drug and biotechnology research firms will descend on the Amazon and patent everything there, cutting Brazil out of the benefits of its own biological wealth.

"The problem with that view," said Luiz Leonor dos A. Rito, a Rio attorney who once led the intellectual property association, is "they're already doing that now. There's nothing to stop Japanese or Dutch scientists from taking plant samples to their home countries and patenting them there."

Chicago Tribune Business Outlook Column By William Sluics, Chicago Tribune Knight-Ridder/Tribune Business News

May 29--HEAVY PULLING AHEAD Like a plow horse struggling to move the mighty weight of a nation, the job market faces the task of doing the heavy pulling. With millions of workers intensely looking for seasonal positions, openings are needed at this time of year in every cranny of the country. It's hardly the moment for the old nag to start wavering from its furrow. Unfortunately, fears have begun to surface that the economy is slackening. That could mean doors slamming shut for those seeking work. A fresh reading on the job market occurs Friday, with the unemployment rate for May. Chicago economist Joel Schneider sees an improvement from April, with joblessness falling to 5.7 percent in May, from 5.8 percent. She also sees 175,000 jobs added to payrolls, from a decline of 9,000 in April. Schneider, of BA Securities Inc., believes the current slowdown is simply "an adjustment phase. The economy should show more life in the second half of this year."

ASSURANCE IN SHOPPING One reason economists aren't buying some talk about a looming recession is that consumers remain remarkably buoyant. The May measure of consumer confidence comes out Tuesday. In April's report from the Conference Board, its index of consumer confidence leaped to 105.5 from 100.2 a month earlier. That was the highest level in five years, hardly suggesting that the economy will tumble off a cliff. An alternate May index, from the University of Michigan, was reported last week to have dropped to 89.8, from 92.5 in April.

HOUSING BLAHS Analysts have been puzzled by tepid activity in housing, as lower mortgage rates have done little to stir any pre-summer sizzle among buyers. April new-home sales are due out Wednesday. In the prior month, sales jumped more than 3 percent, after tracing a pattern of weakness over the last 16 months. One disturbing indicator: the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. reported last week that its overall index of real estate activity fell to 61 in April from 78 a year earlier. That was its lowest point in four years.

READING THE LEAVES A welter of statistics about the economy rolls out Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, including the report from the National Association of Purchasing Management, gross domestic product, retail sales from the nation's chain stores, factory orders, construction spending, the index of leading economic indicators and auto sales from the Big Three. All of the numbers are a bit iffy, none more so than those for sales of cars and light trucks. Chicago economist David Hale says a slump in auto sales in the most recent report "was a major surprise to U.S. forecasters, because it wasn't preceded by any downturn in employment, personal income or apparent household propensity to borrow." Hale, of Kemper Securities Inc., says surveys showed that "the major factor that depressed auto spending was consumer resistance to price increases."

TEMPORARY SETBACK The frothy stock market suffered a setback last Thursday and Friday, a 69.16-point drop in the Dow. The runup has been led by analysts predicting the Federal Reserve will soon be forced to cut interest rates, a concept that has been virtually unthinkable for the last 15 months. Their reasoning is that money-supply growth has become a factor that has no place even with the dollar floundering. If interest rates hold at current levels or drop, "the result could be a Dow Jones industrial average that hits 5000 within a year," says Chicago stock analyst Marshall Front, of Trees Front Associates Inc. He says the prospect of lower rates "created a buying panic in bonds, and we could see the same in stocks." Markets are closed Monday for Memorial Day. Trading resumes Tuesday.
Stiglitz seen likely pick to head U.S. Council of Economic Advisers By Edward Kean Knight-Ridder Financial News

WASHINGTON White House economic aide Joseph Stiglitz is emerging as the most likely choice to become chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Clinton administration sources said.

Stiglitz "does appear to be the leading candidate," said one administration source, while another source said, "The betting is on him."

Stiglitz is a member of the Council of Economic Advisers, which provides economic recommendations to the administration on a variety of issues.

The prestigious position of Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers has been vacant since Laura Tyson, the former chairman, was tapped earlier this year to head the National Economic Council. The NEC is a separate unit set up by Clinton to coordinate economic policy decisions and implementation across the administration.

Stiglitz is among four candidates that have been mentioned to head the Council of Economic Advisers. The others include Martin Baily, who has been nominated to become a member of the council, Brookings Institution economist Henry Aaron and Treasury Assistant Secretary of Economic Policy Alicia Munnell.

Munnell is considered the leading candidate to be nominated to a vacancy on the seven-member Federal Reserve Board created when former Gov. John LaWare resigned in April.

It is not clear when Clinton will name someone to replace Tyson as head of the Council of Economic Advisers. One White House source said the selection process for the CEA is not as far along as that for the Fed vacancy.

Stiglitz has been a member of the Council of Economic Advisers since 1993. During that time, he primarily has specialized in structural and "microeconomic" issues. He has dealt with such issues as welfare reform, the environment and telecommunications.

During his tenure on the council, Stiglitz has kept a relatively low public profile and has not commented extensively on macroeconomic issues such as growth, inflation and monetary policy.

Before joining the administration, Stiglitz held various academic positions at such universities as Stanford, Princeton, Oxford and Yale. He received his doctorate in economics from Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1966.

Lone defendant, victims' families fight to find truth in 'friendly fire' shootdown By Michael E. Ruane Knight-Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON Last month, 11-year-old Sean Piper stood before his 5th-grade classmates in San Antonio, Texas, and showed them the Purple Heart medal that had finally been awarded to his deceased big sister.

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Sean previously had trouble speaking of his sister's strange death last year. But the medal made things clearer. When a friend asked what it meant, Sean answered in crystal words: "It means my sister was a hero."

This week, though, that may be all that is clear when the deaths of Air Force Lt. Laura A. Piper and 25 others enter a death last year. But the medal made things clearer. When a friend asked what it meant, Sean answered in crystal words: "It means my sister was a hero."

It is not clear when Clinton will name someone to replace Tyson as head of the Council of Economic Advisers.

The Pentagon initially expressed outrage at the case, which provided economic recommendations to the administration on a variety of issues.

Much of the case will hinge on how much Wang knew about the helicopters right before the attack. He contends the helicopters had disappeared from his radar scopes. But he was uncertain of what he saw.

Wickson deferred to Wickson, who ordered an attack.

Wickson fired a missile that destroyed the trailing helicopter, which carried Laura Piper. May followed with a missile that destroyed the lead helicopter. Both aircraft crashed and burned, killing all aboard.

The Pentagon initially expressed outrage at the case, which provided economic recommendations to the administration on a variety of issues.

The court martial stems from the April 14, 1994 shootdown of two American Black Hawk helicopters by two F-15 fighters during a collateral mission in the skies over northern Iraq.

The fighters, piloted by Capt. Eric Wickson and Col. Randy W. May, were patrolling the no-fly zone set up after the Gulf War to protect Iraqi Kurds from attacks by government aircraft. They were being aided by an airborne warning and control plane AWACS that was flying nearby with Wang and a crew of radar controllers aboard.

As the fighters flew patrol their radar picked up the two American helicopters, which had entered the zone earlier to ferry teams of allied officials among Kurdish villages.

Though the helicopters had checked in with the AWACS plane, the AWACS crew had not informed the fighters, and still did not mention the Black Hawks when the fighters reported their mysterious radar contacts.

The fighters electronically interrogated the helicopters, but, because of a technical mixup aboard the Black Hawks, the fighters failed to get a friendly response. The F-15s then attempted to make visual IDs, with disastrous results.

Wickson flew past the helicopters and mistakenly identified them as Russian-built Iraqi Hinds. May also took a closer look. But he was uncertain of what he saw.

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And it has forged an unusual alliance between the defendant, Jim Wang, and some of the families of the deceased who are joined in the opinion that truth has been lost and that one man is bearing the guilt of many.

The case has also captured national and some international attention, with Wang, a Chinese-American, building a defense fund, garnering support from Asian-American groups and arguing in public appearances that he is being made a scapegoat.

Last week, Wang said that the trial being held in a borrowed, second-floor logistics room at Tinker Air Force Base, in Oklahoma City had been "elevated" to a crusade. But, said Laura Piper's mother, Joan: "I don't know if you ever find the truth."

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For veterans of virtually forgotten Korean War, a belated tribute By Martin Merze Knight-Ridder

The politicians called it a "police action," but try telling that to the 1.5 million Americans who fought in Korea, the 103,000 wounded there, relatives of the 36,914 who died there.

Now, after four decades of neglect, veterans of the Korean War are finally getting their own national memorial in Washington. Veterans say that makes this Memorial Day worth remembering.

"We are finally, finally being recognized," said Emmett Benjamin, 69, of Miami, a national director of the Korean War Veterans Association. "Not just us, but all the guys and gals who didn't come home."

A combat veteran of what many call "The Forgotten War," Benjamin will be in Washington on July 27 when the elaborate memorial is dedicated. At least 250,000 Korean Veterans Memorial features a triangular field on higher-ranking people off," he said.

Wang, the reserved son of Taiwanese immigrants, was initially confident his innocence would be recognized and his Air Force career would continue smoothly. But over the months he realized his peril and, aided by Chinese-American supporters, embarked on a quiet publicity campaign. He was forced, in part, by a gag order placed on lawyers in the case by the judge, Air Force Lt. Col. Howard R. Altchwager.

"It's definitely something that I would not have asked for, and did not ask for," Wang said in a telephone interview Friday from Oklahoma. "I'm doing it by default. Nobody else can speak to the public. That's why I have to do it."

"I'm very determined," he said. "I feel an obligation to get the truth out not only to the public but especially to the families of the victims."

But he said he also has an obligation to himself. "I need it, not so much to shift blame, but to clear my name," he said. "Otherwise, if I would have been quiet... I would have gone down in history as the one who was responsible for the accident," he said. "The only one responsible."

According to the Pentagon, 36,914 Americans died in the Korean theater between the outbreak of hostilities on June 25, 1950, and an armistice signed July 27, 1953.

The Vietnam War claimed 58,000 lives but persisted for more than 10 years.

In 1982, Vietnam veterans dedicated the memorial they so richly deserved. Veterans of both world wars have a variety of monuments in Washington.

But the Korean-era veterans around the nation were denied a parallel honor.

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Larry King, Christopher Reeve, Gennifer Flowers, Mike Tyson By Cheryl Levenbrown Knight-Ridder

JUST CALL HIM THE KING OF INFOTAINMENT

Larry King, a devoted baseball fan who's often accused of lobbying too many softballs during interviews, shrugs off his critics: "Hey, I'm an infotainer," the 61-year-old broadcaster tells TV Guide. "I never said I was a journalist. Sometimes..."
what I do is journalism. I'm just an interviewer. I'm a conduit. I'm not here to judge people." King, who next month celebrates his 10th anniversary as the suspended host of CNN's "Larry King Live," also explains his trouble on the marriage-going-round. "I'm easily bored," says King, who's engaged to actress Deanna Lund. (According to the best estimates, it'll be his seventh marriage.) "I have a short attention span. I wasn't a good concentrator in school. It's probably one of the reasons I haven't succeeded in marriage. I love what I do, and I hate the routine things you're supposed to do (in a marriage), like 'We have to go visit Cousin Egbirt.'"

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MEDICAL CHART: HORSE STOPS, REEVE DOESN'T
Christopher Reeve was hospitalized in stable condition Sunday in Charlottesville, Va., after being thrown from his horse in a jumping competition Saturday. "Something spoiled the horse," said Monk Reynolds, owner of Commonwealth Park in nearby Culpeper, where the 42-year-old actor ran into trouble at the third of 15 jumps. "His horse just stopped dead and threw him." The 'Superman' star was admitted to the University of Virginia Medical Center after being carried off in a stretcher with what Reynolds said looked like a neck injury. Reeve's publicist had no information on the injuries.

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NO HILLARY WANNABE
Good news for these united states: Gennifer Flowers doesn't have her heart set on being first lady, thank God. "There's such a tremendous responsibility, along with a marriage and children," says the self-proclaimed adulteress in Bill Clinton's alleged past. "I'd rather sing in my nightclub and have a good time." Flowers, now touring to promote her autobiography, "Passion and Betrayal," says she 'used to be very unpolitical,' but that's changed. "Since this has happened to me," she says, "I've had to open my eyes." She claims she and the future president had a 12-year affair.

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CELEBRITY DOCKET
It's jail time: Flavor Flav, 36, the Public Enemy rapper with the big clock around his neck, was sentenced Friday to three months for shooting at a New York neighbor in November 1993. The original charge, attempted murder, was reduced to a misdemeanor: weapon possession. The rapper (aka William Drayton) also got three years of probation and was ordered to enter drug rehab.

That wasn't a stairway to heaven that tripped up rocker Jimmy Page it was an airway to Portland, Ore., and a lighted cigarette. The legendary Led Zeppelin guitarist was on a flight from San Francisco to a Portland concert after being carried off in a stretcher with what didn't, but the Federal Aviation Administration is investigating and he could face a $1,000 fine. Page was a visibly intoxicated Page admitted to his nicotine misdeed when the plane landed. According to a police report, Page was "bored" and "spooked the horse," said Monk Reynolds, owner of Commonwealth Park in nearby Culpeper, where the 42-year-old actor ran into trouble at the third of 15 jumps. "His horse just stopped dead and threw him." The 'Superman' star was admitted to the University of Virginia Medical Center after being carried off in a stretcher with what Reynolds said looked like a neck injury. Reeve's publicist had no information on the injuries.

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ANOTHER YEAR OLDER
Monday's birthdays: comedian Bob Hope, 92 ... race car driver Al Unser Sr., 56 ... actor Anthony Geary, 47 ... actress Annette Bening, 37 ... actress Lisa Whelchel, 32.

Bosnian situation deteriorates rapidly with shootdown of foreign minister's helicopter By Barbara Demick Knight-Ridder Newspapers

ZAGREB, Croatia Bosnia plunged deeper into crisis Sunday with the death of its foreign minister, whose helicopter was shot down by Serb forces, and another round of hostage-taking that left the United Nations and NATO powerless to stem the violence.

As of last night, the tally of U.N. personnel held by Bosnian Serbs had climbed above 300. The latest were a contingent of British soldiers, 33 of whom were abducted Sunday from observation points around Gorazde in eastern Bosnia.

With so many peacekeepers in jeopardy, there was no more bluster talk of fresh NATO airstrikes. Indeed, the United Nations seemed paralyzed with indecision.

"Deteriorating rapidly," is how Chris Guinness, the U.N. spokesman in Zagreb, assessed the situation. "It is evolving to a point where we need clear guidance from the U.N. Security Council." The killing of Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic and six other passengers in his helicopter throws another complication into the already explosive brew. Throughout the four-day-long crisis, Bosnian government forces have held their fire at the urging of the United Nations, but this latest casualty raises the likelihood of retaliation.

Ljubijankic, 42, was shot down on his way back from a meeting in the Bihac enclave, in northern Bosnia at the Croatian border. Ljubijankic, a physician trained in Belgrade, had been a rising power in the Bosnian government. Foreign minister for about a year, he is the second high-ranking official assassinated during the war.

The other was Deputy Prime Minister Hakija Turajlic, who was ambushed in January 1993 and shot to death while riding in a French U.N. armored personnel carrier.

Also apparently among those killed in Sunday's incident were a deputy justice minister and an attaché in the Bosnian embassy to Croatia.

'Psychologically, it is devastating,' Bosnian U.N. Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey told CNN Sunday. "But so many others have lost parents and children, we are accustomed now to death maybe too accustomed." While the confrontation between the United Nations and Bosnian Serbs is escalating, it is Bosnian citizens who have been taking the brunt of the abuse. After the initial NATO airstrikes Thursday that set off the crisis, the Serbs took vengeance by shelling a strip of outdoor cafes in Tuzla killing 71 people in one of the deadliest incidents of the war.

Bosnian Serbs kept up the relentless pressure Sunday. Another shell killed a man in Tuzla, while mortars exploded around the narrow pass over Mount Igman, the only access route into or out of Sarajevo.

The Sarajevo airport, where the U.N. airlift brings the primary source of food for 350,000 residents, has been closed for seven weeks. Two days ago, the Bosnian Serbs also cut off electricity, water and gas from the besieged Bosnian capital.
The tension in Sarajevo is heightened by the large quantities of U.N. equipment stolen by the Bosnian Serbs in the last four days. The Serbs now have at least 11 armored personnel carriers, six light tanks and three jeeps all painted white, with U.N. markings.

The fear is that Bosnians and U.N. personnel alike could fall for a ruse such as the one Saturday morning, when Bosnian Serbs masquerading as French peacekeepers took over a key observation post in the heart of Sarajevo. The United Nations regained control of that post after the Serbs fled. But that one bright spot Sunday was overshadowed by the capture of the British soldiers near Gorazde.

The peacekeepers, most from the Royal Welsh Fusiliers battalion, had been manning eight isolated observation posts when they were easily overcome by Serb commandos. There was no exchange of fire.

Jim Landale, a U.N. spokesman in Sarajevo, said Sunday night that there had been no communication with the men since their capture. They could be in more peril than other hostages because the Serbs have tied their release to that of four Bosnian Serb soldiers captured Saturday in Sarajevo.

General Raiko Mladic, the Serb commander, sent a message late Sunday to U.N. Commander Rupert Smith, himself British, saying "if the four Bosnian Serb soldiers were returned by 6 p.m., he would treat the British soldiers well," according to Landale.

The Bosnian Serb soldiers were not released.

Also Sunday, eight Canadian soldiers were taken captive in Visoko, west of Sarajevo.

The United Nations said that more than 300 soldiers were under some form of restraint by the Bosnian Serbs some chained to potential NATO targets as human shields, others simply confined to their own barracks.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN END HERE)

Serb television released new video footage Sunday of French peacekeepers handcuffed to one another, sitting on the floor at an undisclosed location near Sarajevo.

"We are indignant that U.N. soldiers are being detained in this way. These are U.N. soldiers, peacekeepers. We are not anybody's enemies," said an angry French general, Arnold Schroederoff, the contingent commander for the French forces.

Although France has by far the largest number of detained soldiers, 172 as of Sunday, Schroederoff insisted, "It is the international community that has hostages, not France, the Ukraine, Russia or Canada."

Nevertheless, forging a consensus about what to do next to resolve this crisis is proving exceedingly difficult.

In New York, ambassadors from the 31 nations with peacekeepers in the former Yugoslavia met during the weekend and expressed widely divergent views.

According to U.N. sources, only the Dutch and representatives from some Islamic countries favored further airstrikes.

"We have no direction about what to do next," said a senior U.N. official in Zagreb, who asked not to be identified by name. "Our only direction is to keep treading water, while at senior levels of the world powers, they are deciding what to do."

Foreign reporters covering Ebola find death, dirt and courage By Fred Tasker Knight-Ridder Newspapers
They've covered death and disaster, seen up close the awful aftermath of tribal massacre, won prizes for their courage. But to the Western reporters hitching rides with panic-stricken pilots to reach besieged Kikwit, Zaire, the new enemy the murderous Ebola virus evoked a different kind of fear.

"It was freaky," said Jean-Marc Bouju, a French photographer for Associated Press. "An invisible life form that wipes out people. You never really know if you could get it by touching a dirty door handle ... I will know in two weeks" the incubation period for the usually fatal Ebola virus.

Still, the crisis had to be covered. And when two dozen Western writers and photographers vectored in from London, Johannesburg, Nairobi, they found dirt, disease and dread, but also courage, compassion and caring.

The reporters were well-informed about Ebola, which has killed more than a hundred people in its sweep.

"We knew a lot about how it was transmitted," said Karin Davies, the Associated Press reporter traveling with Bouju. "We were confident that, by avoiding bodily fluids, we would be OK."

Still, it spawned anxiety.

"Ebola is so mysterious. In a war zone, you know the safe and unsafe places. With Ebola, you can't see it, feel it, taste it, smell it," Davies said.

The people of Zaire, often lacking the reporters' understanding of the virus, were in terror. The fear made it harder than usual for reporters to get into Kikwit.

On the first trip in, five journalists hitched a ride on a cargo plane whose pilot was so frightened he said he wasn't coming back for them.

(EDITORS: NEXT GRAF OPTIONAL)

"He wouldn't even pick up the mail there," said Bouju. "He was afraid the letters might be contaminated. We had to explain to him how Ebola was transmitted."

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)

They found Kikwit paralyzed.

"There was fear everywhere," Davies said. "You could feel it on the streets."

(EDITORS: NEXT 2 GRAFS OPTIONAL)

The usually friendly Zairians wouldn't even shake hands.

"Normally they touch your arms and shoulders and press close when they talk to you," Davies said. "Here you could see them approach, back off, then apologize and say, 'We're not supposed to touch. It's dangerous.' So they have a new thing now. Instead of shaking hands, they touch elbows."

(EDITORS: NEXT GRAF OPTIONAL)

Conditions at Kikwit's hospital were appalling.

"We didn't have appropriate protective clothing," ABC correspondent Sheila MacVicar said. "We had masks, gloves. The doctors wore space suits rubber boots, disposable gowns, plastic gowns on top of that, multiple gloves, heavy masks with filters, goggles for their eyes. When you have this disease, the stuff (vomited blood, diarrhea) can go everywhere."

The reporters did find one oasis of rationality in the desert of fear. MacVicar interviewed Ali Kahn, a U.S. physician working at the hospital as part of a three-member team from the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta.

When that team arrived, it found hospital conditions so chaotic that the three had to scrub its bloody floors and carry out corpses themselves, CDC spokesman Bob Howard said.

Unable to interview the quarantined patients, the reporters turned to the heartbreaking task of speaking with relatives awaiting news of their family members' deaths or, worse, the outcome of their own blood tests.

Davies and Bouju met a 20-year-old Kikwit man who had been taken care of a friend who had just died of Ebola.

"He was already sick, too," Bouju said. "He had fever and delirium. He was hoping it was anything but Ebola. But he knew. You could see it in his eyes. They..."
were open, fixed, terrible."

But in the midst of terror, the reporters also found compassion.

With the Zairian economy a shambles even before Ebola struck, hospital orderlies had not been receiving their $6-a-month wage, MacVicar said.

"Now they're working as volunteers. They pick up bodies at pretty great risk to themselves. They're very proud. Truly courageous. But now people are afraid these people are disease carriers. Their kids can't play with other people's kids. They're the new social pariahs. It's tough."

(EDITORS: NEXT 2 GRAFS OPTIONAL)

"The people hate us," Mudiangu Maseka, who is clearing corpses for the Red Cross, told the Associated Press' Tina Susman. "They throw rocks sometimes. Maybe they don't understand that what we are doing is actually helping them. I don't know."

Maseka, a 38-year-old mother of seven, has not even told her husband what she's doing.

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)

The emotional toll? Reporters are tough. Show them anything, and they've seen worse. Ask them why they would brave Ebola for a story, and they put it in that tough perspective.

Bouju just won a Pulitzer Prize for his photos of brutal massacres in Rwanda. Davies had to drag a photographer to safety in Kigali, Rwanda, after he was hit in both legs by sniper fire.

"I've been in Africa for 26 years," said Gary Striker of Cable News Network. "I was prepared for what Ebola was and wasn't. I wasn't worried about breathing it in."

Still, when the reporters are safely in Johannesburg or Manhattan, they admit to those semirational fears.

"I realized I was still in the incubation period," Striker said. "I could be proved wrong."

"I have to admit," Davies adds, "that at the end of the first day, after I'd written my story and taken a shower (in Kinshasa) and cleaned off my shoes and sent my clothes out to be washed, I sort of thought that, if by some fluke I had gotten it, it would be a hideous way to die."
COLUMBIA, S.C. — On a sultry evening in this capital city, a small crowd of people snaked their cars through a suburb of tall southern pines to see the man who would be president. "Abortion is Murder," read one car's bumper sticker. "Save the Males," said another. "Go Pat Go," was on a third.

"Pat" is Patrick Buchanan, the Republican spoiler in the 1992 presidential primaries. Playing to the conservative crowd at a fund-raiser here last week, he trumpeted himself as an "unemployed angry white male" — then laughed uproariously to make sure people knew this wealthy man who quit his CNN job as a conservative commentator was just joking.

Some observers have been quick to dismiss Buchanan's second campaign as a joke as well, noting he ranks fourth among Republican hopefuls in the latest national Gallup poll and faces more competitors than in his anti-Bush drive in 1992.

While Buchanan is a long shot, he is also better known than others in the field and gets plenty of press for his strident sound bites. He also has raised enough money to run a respectable campaign, and he and his supporters are relentlessly pushing the Republican candidates to the right.

"We lost the nomination," Buchanan says of 1992 at nearly every campaign stop, "but we won the heart and soul of the Republican Party." Smirking at the competition, he adds: "Why take someone who sounds like Buchanan when you can get the real thing?"

Buchanan reels off the issues that he says other candidates have copied from him: cutting immigration, ending affirmative action, enacting tax cuts and other issues that are now standard party fare. At the least, Buchanan's candidacy keeps the other candidates uncomfortable, forcing them to explain their support of free-trade deals and their willingness to accept vice presidential candidates who support abortion rights.

At a time when the Republican Party is becoming more conservative, Buchanan's viability is in persuading voters that other candidates who call themselves conservative are actually establishment Republicans. As a result, Buchanan has leaned even farther to the right than in 1992, criticizing the Christian Coalition's agenda as too moderate, dismissing Texas Sen. Phil Gramm as a past supporter of tax hikes and castigating Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas as a deal-making "Beltway Bob."

Buchanan's first and foremost strategy in 1996 is to knock off Gramm and become the alternative to Dole. "Phil Gramm has a problem, and it's me," Buchanan said in an interview. Delivering a message to the Texan, Buchanan said, "Get out of the way and let me to the finals."

Buchanan has been buoyed somewhat by Gramm's feud with New Hampshire Gov. Stephen Merrill over the state's first-primary status. Buchanan got 37 percent of the state's vote against Bush in 1992; a recent New Hampshire poll by American Research Group found Buchanan trailing Dole by a 44-13 percent margin, with Gramm getting only 7 percent.

Buchanan's primary strategy depends on doing well with the religious right in Iowa, where he did not compete in 1992, repeating a strong performance in New Hampshire and picking up a win in the South.

That is why Buchanan last week spent two days touring South Carolina, which holds the first Southern primary on March 2 and envisions itself as the New Hampshire of the South. To the Carolinians at the fund-raiser, Buchanan was a star because he vowed to be "the most pro-life president in history" and because he opposed the free-trade deals endorsed by Dole and Gramm. The deals are unpopular in this state because of the perception that they will lead to a flood of cheap textile imports. The textile industry here has been one of

The Boston Globe
5-29-95
"You know where Pat Buchanan stands," said the South Carolina Republican Party chairman, Henry McMaster, who has not endorsed any candidate. "In the South we like plain talk, and we don't like double talk. Buchanan is someone who is willing to stand up and fight."

"I feel like he is the most conservative Republican," said Janice Harper, who attended the fund-raiser. "We don't need someone wishy-washy."

Buchanan knows how to play to his audience. Yes, he agreed with a questioner, having women in combat is "immoral." Yes, he would "de-fund" Planned Parenthood and fetal tissue research. Yes, he would impose an across-the-board 10 percent tariff on all Japanese goods and declare a new era of America-first "economic nationalism." And, yes, he said, he supported those who want to fly the Confederate flag atop the state capitol and who want to restrict The Citadel military academy to males.

A typical rhetorical firestorm by Buchanan begins this way: "South Carolina doesn't need some bureaucrat in beads and sandals in the Education Department to tell it what to do."

Buchanan's gruff talk has helped him assemble a core of supporters, who, for example, have helped him collect nearly as much money in South Carolina as the rest of the candidates combined, bringing in almost half of the $109,000 raised here in the first quarter of this year. But the size of Buchanan's base is in serious doubt.

On the morning after the fund-raiser, he awoke to news that a Mason-Dixon poll in South Carolina put him in fourth place with only 4 percent. Dole had 49 percent; Gramm got 22 percent and Lamar Alexander, 5 percent.

Buchanan has met the enemy, and the enemy can be summed up in one word: viability. Former New Hampshire Gov. Meldrim Thomson, a key 1992 supporter, cited Buchanan's inability to win as his main reason for backing Gramm this time. "Pat did not show the necessary strength in other parts of the country that is needed to become the presidential nominee," Thomson said earlier this year. "I see no reason to believe that this will change in 1996."

Political analyst William Schneider, who worked with Buchanan at CNN, said Buchanan has some attraction to conservatives "because they don't have a horse to ride. They don't trust Dole. Gramm is a tough sell out of Texas. That leaves Pat Buchanan, who kept the faith with conservatives in 1992." But Schneider said it is "implausible" that Buchanan could be the nominee because "most viewers were appalled by his rhetoric" at the 1992 Republican convention.

Buchanan's dilemma was dramatically illustrated earlier this month when word spread that Gary Bauer, president of the conservative Family Research Group and a former domestic policy aide for President Reagan, might endorse Buchanan. After flirting with the idea, Bauer found Dole and Gramm were starting to sound like Buchanan on social issues. Gramm was hardening his antiabortion stance, and Dole was launching into a crusade against Hollywood. Bauer backed off the endorsement for the time being.

"As you have probably noticed, Sen. Gramm and Sen. Dole and a number of others, I think, have gotten the message and are beginning to move on these issues," said Bauer, whose Washington-based group claims 250,000 members. "I think for now most of these pro-family activists will probably hold back and remain to be captured by one of these candidates."

Buchanan, meanwhile, does not seem to mind being the lonely warrior. Last weekend, just days after criticizing the Christian Coalition's agenda as too moderate on abortion and other matters, he met with the organization's director, Ralph Reed.

"We were comparing the different names we've been called," Buchanan said. "I said, 'I can't think of a single nasty name in American politics that I haven't been called.' Ralph said, 'Xenophobe, that's what they are calling me.' I said, 'They called me that two years ago. I'm sorry, Ralph, I've got you beat.'"
U.S. Considering Use of NATO Troops in Bosnia, Official Says (Washn)By Mark Matthews (c) 1995, The Baltimore Sun

WASHINGTON Raising the stakes for the United States in the Bosnian conflict, the Clinton administration is considering the temporary use of NATO forces including American troops to help beef up the U.N. peacekeeping operation, a senior administration official said Sunday.

Such a decision would mark a major change in American policy. Previously, the United States has said that U.S. ground forces could be sent to Bosnia under only two circumstances: to help in the pullout of U.N. peacekeepers or to help enforce an actual peace agreement.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher was scheduled to meet with U.S. allies in the Netherlands Monday about how the U.N. force could be strengthened and whether U.S. and other NATO forces would be needed initially.

The position of the peacekeepers has become untenable in recent days, with more than 300 now being held as hostages by Bosnian Serbs as a human shield to prevent a repeat of last week's NATO airstrikes against Serbian positions.

The United States supports the position of France that, rather than withdraw from Bosnia, the 20,000-member U.N. force should be strengthened so that it can retaliate against any future Serbian attacks.

Like-minded Britain announced Sunday that it is sending more artillery and armor units to Bosnia to bolster the more than 3,500 Britons serving as U.N. peacekeepers. The British Parliament also was recalled to discuss the Bosnia crisis. It will meet Wednesday.

NATO planners have already been assigned to figure out how the alliance's forces could be used to help strengthen the U.N. presence in Bosnia.

A senior official involved in U.S. policy-making on Bosnia said that during Monday's discussions in the Netherlands, Christopher is ready to tell the allies that the administration is "prepared to consider" bringing NATO troops temporarily into Bosnia to help move and strengthen the peacekeepers.

"He'll say we're prepared to consider it," the official said.

This would presumably involve American ground troops, at least for a brief period, the official said. And, he said, it would carry "a higher risk in the short term" to U.S. forces than if U.S. forces were used only to help in a withdrawal of U.N. peacekeepers. That is because the Serbs would probably resist any move to strengthen the U.N. force.

The official did not say how many U.S. troops might be involved.

Justice Thomas' Wife Involved in 'Defunding the Left' Bid (Washn) By Saul Friedman (c) 1995, Newsday

WASHINGTON Congressional Republicans with the wife of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas playing a key role are preparing a new budget-cutting assault on scores of government-funded nonprofit groups whose liberal views are considered a threat to the conservative agenda.

The groups that are expected to come under fire, according to congressional and conservative sources, range from the Planned Parenthood Federation of America and the Population Council to the American Association of Retired Persons, the AFL-CIO, the Urban League and the Nature Conservancy.

The effort, referred to by conservatives as "defunding the left," is intended to take aim at what they consider advocacy groups that lobby for liberal social programs from which they receive grants and contracts. But experts warn that other government-supported nonprofit organizations with lobbyists such as Catholic Charities (the largest single nonprofit recipient of government funds, at $218 million in 1994), the Evangelical Council for Youth and the American Bar Association could be caught in the cross-fire.

Led by Virginia Lamp Thomas, the wife of the Supreme Court justice, a special group of senior House Republican experts and staff members has been quietly working under the auspices of House Majority Leader Dick Armey of Texas. Their aim is to identify nonprofit organizations whose funding should be cut and to plan a strategy to end their grants or contracts with the government or the programs for which they provide services.

Thomas is a former Labor Department lawyer under the Republicans and lobbyist for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce who last year earned $78,800 as a senior policy coordinator for the House Republican Conference. She joined Armey's staff on Jan. 4 as his $108,234 chief liaison for all House committees. She declined to return telephone calls, and sources said she is sensitive about her position and reluctant to be seen as a leader in Armey's defunding effort.

But Armey spokesman Ed Gillespie said that Thomas "does oversight" for the majority leader and has coordinated meetings of House committee staff members as they've planned the forthcoming campaign to defund nonprofit advocacy groups. And she has been the contact for representatives of organizations seeking information about Armey's effort.

So far, however, Thomas has refused to meet with groups like OMB Watch, which monitors government programs, and Independent Sector, which represents more than 800 philanthropic organizations, according to several sources.

And her involvement in the defunding effort has raised sharp questions among liberals who recall that some of the targeted groups labor unions, legal advocates and the National Organization for Women were involved in the bitter battle to defeat her husband's nomination.

One group lobbyist who has spoken with Thomas and asked to remain anonymous said, "She remains outraged about the treatment of her husband."

Patrick Burns, spokesman for the National Council of Senior Citizens, which received about $72 million in federal contracts last year, noted that "it's against the
law to target groups for defunding based on ideology. ... The question here is why the wife of a Supreme Court justice is engaged in an illegal witch hunt. What is the motivation? What the Republicans seem to be saying is that because we are not politically correct we should lose our grants on contracts that were awarded on merit."

Gillespie told Newsday that in searching for areas of federal spending where money might be saved, Armey is looking not at ideological targets, but rather at "groups on the left and right that get money from the government and use it to lobby for increases in their grants and contracts."

But most conservative nonprofit groups are privately funded by corporate sponsors and wealthy activists. And House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., in a recent interview with U.S. News & World Report magazine, called for privatizing social services through charities and "defunding the left" by ending appropriations that propagate liberal ideas.

Other conservatives call the effort "privatizing advocacy groups," but more broadly it's an assault on what experts call "the iron triangle." That's the relationship (similar to the military-industrial-congressional complex) that has grown over the years of Democratic congressional control among the federal bureaucracies, senior lawmakers and nonprofit groups that get government grants, and, in turn, support the agencies, programs and members who dish out the appropriations.

Thus, the Republicans are taking aim at the money that has helped build powerful constituencies. And Alan Abramson, associate director of research into the nonprofit sector for the Aspen Institute, a centrist think tank here, said the potential for budget cuts and a shift of power to the right is great: He estimates that total federal support for nonprofit groups and institutions, including hospitals, is $137 billion.

Most of that about $111 billion goes to health institutions for Medicaid, Medicare and other federally supported health programs; colleges and universities receive $10 billion more for research and student aid. But the primary targets for defunding are the social services, housing and arts nonprofit groups, which receive an estimated $16 billion a year.

Gillespie said Armey is still weeks away from a legislative strategy to make the cuts. But the conservative effort is taking shape on other fronts.

Earlier this month, Armey sent a letter to 82 chief executives of major companies chiding them for giving money to nonprofit organizations that support the welfare state.

The groups, listed by the conservative Capital Research Center, included the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, the Nature Conservancy and the League of Women Voters. Similar lists are being compiled by the libertarian Cato Institute in Washington, and the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank that is preparing recommendations to defund nonprofit advocacy groups.

At the same time, Rep. John Mica, R-Fla., has suggested removing liberal groups from the combined federal campaign of the United Way. Rep. Bob Dorman, R-Calif., has proposed sweeping legislation to prohibit tax-exempt groups and others that receive federal funds from using taxpayer money to engage in lobbying.

Marshall Wittmann, who is studying the issue for the Heritage Foundation, sees possible problems in the sweeping legislative approach. For example, major military contractors employ Washington lobbyists whose costs are included in contracts with the government. And such groups as the Boy Scouts, the YMCA and the Red Cross receive federal funds and also employ lobbyists. Indeed, one Heritage list of possible targets for defunding includes the American Medical Association, the American Bar Association, the Audubon Society and the Consumers Federation of America.

Michael Horowitz, an analyst for the conservative Hudson Institute, who led a controversial and unsuccessful effort of the Reagan administration to break the iron triangle through the budget process, rejects the concept of "defunding the left."

In an interview, Horowitz cautioned against using an illegal "enemies list" in dispensing grants and contracts. Instead, he said, as Republicans go through the detailed appropriations process during the next weeks they may legitimately end programs and the services that are at odds with their policies and ideological goals.

Although conservatives have targeted nonprofit groups on the grounds that they lobby for their liberal programs, Abramson said organizations are prohibited from lobbying with government funds. And he said government auditors have found very little of such lobbying is done, although it's difficult to separate the lobbying and non-lobbying functions of copying machines and telephones. But Abramson added that the groups that provide services are often the best experts to advise members of Congress on the needs and problems in the programs they help administer.

Gary Bass, executive director of OMB Watch, predicts a "witch hunt" to find and defund organizations that have lobbied for programs seen as promoting the welfare state, homosexuality and abortion. Others may be targeted, Bass said, if they have been effective in challenging the conservative agenda.

Bass, who has spoken with Virginia Thomas about possible methods for limiting the use of taxpayer funds for improper lobbying, said Armey may seek to prohibit all nonprofits that receive federal funds from lobbying. That, he said, "will effectively put them out of business." But such a move, he said, could raise problems under First Amendment guarantees of free expression.